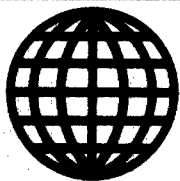


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# **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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## SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet Criticizes Leningrad People's Deputies (PRAVDA, 3 Jun 87).....	1
PRAVDA Reports Replacement of Retiring Pskov Obkom Chief (V. Vorobyev; PRAVDA, 20 Jun 87).....	4
LiSSR Buro Discusses Fuel, Construction, Drug Abuse (SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 27 May 87).....	10
Moldavian Buro Censures Persisting Corruption (SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 6 May 87).....	13

#### MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

Moscow Discusses Openness Policy (Grigoriy Surenovich Oganov, Fedor Mikhaylovich Burlatskiy, et al.; Moscow Domestic Service, 6 Jun 87)...	18
Journalist Describes How Bureaucrats Obstruct Glasnost (M. Kryukov; PRAVDA, 22 May 87).....	24
OGONEK Readers Comment on Glasnost (OGONEK, No 17, Apr 87).....	28

Journalist on Role of Current Affairs Writers (Zoriy Balayan; TRUD, 20 Jun 87).....	32
HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY	
Writers' Right To Seek Historical Truth Upheld (Ivan Stadnyuk; SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 14 Jun 87).....	37
Letter Calls for Curb on Attacks on 1930's (N. Sinyakov; PRAVDA, 18 May 87).....	42
Paper Recalls Sholokhov's Encounter With Stalin (Valentin Osipov; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 23 May 87).....	43
CULTURE	
False Patriots Perceived in Pamyat Society (Andrey Cherkizov; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 18 Jun 87).....	46
Literary Critics Discuss Contemporary Criticism (Feliks Fedoseyevich Kuznetsov; Moscow Television Service, 16 May 87).....	53
Writer Rasputin on Ways To Defend Restructuring (Valentin Grigoryevich Rasputin Interview; TRUD, 14 Jun 87).....	59
Books Hailed for Exposing Evils of Lysenkoism (Yu. Andreyev; PRAVDA, 14 Jun 87).....	63
Writer's Fate Recalls 'Mass Repressions' of 1937 (R. T. Kazaryan Interview; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 27 Jun 87).....	67
Writer Explains Shift in His View of Stalin (L. Lazareva; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 20 Jun 87).....	71
SOCIAL ISSUES	
Official Interviewed on Cleansing Ranks of MVD (V. Itkin, A. V. Anikiyev Interview; TRUD, 28 May 87)....	75
New Public Organization To Act With Greenpeace (A. Lyutiy; PRAVDA, 5 Jun 87).....	79
Academics Protest Publication of Lysenkoite Tracts (N. Dubinin, A. Ivanov, et al.; SELSKAYA ZHIZN, 18 Jun 87).....	81

## REGIONAL ISSUES

Moscow Commission Reviews City Individual Labor Activity (O. Lysenskiy; MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 10 Jun 87).....	84
Moscow Industry's Switch to Multi-Shift System Discussed (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 13 Jun 87).....	87
Bureau Members Criticized at Moscow Gorkom Plenum (Yu. Kazmin; PRAVDA, 3 Jun 87).....	93
Officials Reprimanded for Environmental Violations (PRAVDA, 29 May 87).....	97
Criticism of Leningrad Flood Defenses Rebutted (S. Davydov; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 21 Jun 87).....	101

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PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

SUPREME SOVIET CRITICIZES LENINGRAD PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

PM091335 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jun 87 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] As already reported, a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has examined the work of Leningrad City soviets connected with preparations for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The resolution adopted notes that Leningrad soviets and the city's working people, maintaining their glorious revolutionary and working traditions, have launched in this jubilee year a vigorous struggle to implement the party's strategic course aimed at restructuring and accelerating the development of society's socioeconomic and spiritual spheres.

The CPSU Central Committee address to the Soviet people in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution met with Leningraders' great approval.

More than 200,000 of the city's working people have supported the initiative of workers at Leningrad enterprises who were delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress to complete their targets for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan by 7 November 1987.

The target for the first 4 months for output sales, industrial production growth rates, and labor productivity were met. One-fifth of industrial output is produced by labor collectives operating under full economic accountability and self-financing. Work to switch the main production units of machine building enterprises to multishift working is being carried out persistently. Discipline and order at work are being tightened up and losses of worktime and cadre turnover have been reduced.

At the same time the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium drew Leningrad City and rayon soviets' attention to serious shortcomings in their work. Restructuring has still not achieved the necessary scale or depth. The soviets and their organs are not using their potential to make a radical breakthrough in solving the tasks of comprehensively developing the territories in their charge and are failing to show due concern for laggard sections.

At a number of enterprises of the USSR Ministries of Power Machine Building, Heavy and Transport Machine Building, and the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry consumer goods production is only 25 kopeks per ruble of wages.

Questions connected with reconstructing and retooling production at a number of enterprises of the USSR Ministries of Ferrous Metallurgy, the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, and Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building are being resolved intolerably slowly. City construction organizations are poorly fulfilling the plans for assimilating capital investments, and environmental protection work is being carried out unsatisfactorily.

In executing the decisions of the 27th party congress and CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum and preparing for the October jubilee, quite a lot is being done in Leningrad to develop the social sphere and improve people's lives.

However, this by no means meets the population's demands and fails to match up to the increased demands for developing the social and consumer sphere and culture in this city of many millions of inhabitants. Complaints from citizens about the unsatisfactory work of the housing and municipal and power services and health care, trade, public catering, transport, and communications organs are well founded.

The city soviets do not show due persistence in overcoming phenomena of stagnation. Many soviet leaders and personnel lack the ability to work under conditions of openness and expanding democracy. They have not renounced the unsystematic approach to combating bureaucracy and other negative phenomena. To increase the effectiveness of soviets' work it is necessary to involve the masses, labor collectives, and public organizations in solving the problems of all the main spheres of soviets' activity. This party demand must be the determining factor in methods of soviet work. Restructuring is inconceivable without this.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium believes that the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is a major political event in the life of the people and the whole country.

All-around restructuring of the city's socioeconomic life and a determination to greet the October anniversary with concrete achievements constitute the most important thing in soviets' activity.

Soviets must imbue their work with real democratic content, extend openness and criticism, and create all the conditions necessary for active participation by working people in drawing up and implementing decisions on topical issues of city life.

The Leningrad Gorispolkom and rayispolkoms must ensure that squares, streets, monuments, and memorial sites connected with revolutionary events and the

building and defense of socialism are refurbished and kept in exemplary condition.

They are instructed to use the preparations for the jubilee with appropriate scope and profundity in order to increase the effectiveness of the patriotic and international education of the population, particularly young people, in the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the older generation of Leningraders and in the spirit of indissoluble friendship among the USSR's peoples and constant readiness to defend the socialist fatherland.

Participants in the revolution, the civil war, and the Great Patriotic War and party and labor veterans must be shown constant concern.

In their organizational and political education work connected with preparations for the Great October Revolution's 70th anniversary union and autonomous republic supreme soviet presidiums and all local soviets are instructed to concentrate their efforts on the practical implementation of the decisions of the 27th party congress and CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum and the CPSU Central Committee Resolution "On Preparations for the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" and on meeting the plan targets and socialist ledges for 1987 and the 5-year plan as a whole.

The local soviet and people's court election campaigns being held under the new conditions must be extensively utilized in order to radically improve the work of soviet, economic, and law-enforcement organs and intensify propaganda of the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution in implementing sovereignty by the working people.

Our achievements must be widely showcased and the organic link between the accomplishments of October and the present-day revolutionary transformations being carried out on the party's initiative with the people's full support must be revealed.

/9599

CSO: 1800/749

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

PRAVDA REPORTS REPLACEMENT OF RETIRING PSKOV OBKOM CHIEF

PM251101 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jun 87 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent V. Vorobyev: "According to Old Prescriptions. The Party Obkom's Work Style Needs Restructuring"]

[Text] Pskov Oblast--In his concluding speech at the obkom plenum and bureau session, when the speakers' criticisms were being generalized, A. Rybakov, first secretary of Pskov party obkom, emphasized that it had been an unusual plenum.

Indeed, the question of restructuring and cadres did not leave many people indifferent. Errors and omissions which do considerable harm to the national economy, particularly the failures of the agroindustrial complex, are directly connected with excesses work with cadres.

But why, nonetheless, was this obkom plenum unusual? Perhaps new ways to solve the problems and different approaches to them were proposed, which had not been mentioned before? Or an analysis was made of why a particular targeted program--and many have been adopted--is not being fulfilled in its entirety, which in turn is holding up related sectors? Or those who head a particular affair were called impartially to account?

No, everything was as before. The pointed speeches were not targeted at specific people. The deference, imbued with timidity, to the oblast leaders was not violated even when there was talk of incorrect approaches and very serious excesses in work with cadres.

The only criticism of the obkom leaders was in the report. In the recent period this has had the nuance of a kind of lip service to the times, of being an established rule of good form.

But how, all the same, are things proceeding in the oblast? The agroindustrial complex has taken another step back. Industry and construction are in turmoil. Consumer goods production has fallen in a number of rayons. There are serious complaints about product quality. Almost all the enterprises which have gone over to the state acceptance system have failed to cope with the plan. There has been a deterioration in indicators for consumer services, trade...

Following a statement of affairs in the countryside, the report said that this is "to a considerable degree the fault of the CPSU obkom, its secretary Ye. V. Yuganov, and the agriculture and food industry department." Concerning the state of party organizational work, the keynote speaker pointed out that "the party organizational work department (N. P. Pavlov), other obkom departments, and many gorkoms and raykoms are thoroughly underperforming." And the keynote speaker said of errors and mistakes in work with cadres: "The main reasons are the weakness of democratic principles in cadre work, the lack of openness in selecting and promoting cadres, and bad work with the reserve. The bureau and the first secretary are to blame for this."

This seemed to have both a sound and a self-critical ring to it. And it relieved, as it were, the acuteness of the problem breaking its way through the door. The obkom bureau and the first secretary personally were named. But what else? Who is bold enough to return to this?

But this is the question: What does such criticism and self-criticism give? Strictly measured out according to the old, usual prescriptions, it will hardly be able to help against the new disease, which is that they are trying to squeeze the ideas of restructuring into the customary, dilapidated forms.

Yuganov's persistence had seemed inexplicable. One raykom member after another rose and said that the candidacy of V. Koyenen, proposed for the post of first secretary, was not suitable. Vladimir Toyevovich would not be able to rectify the situation in which the rayon found itself. They cited convincing arguments. But Ye. Yuganov, second secretary of the party obkom, appeared not to hear them. He stubbornly reiterated that the obkom bureau had familiarized itself with the candidate's professional qualities and was confident that he would cope.

V. Koyenen worked for several years as a raykom inspector. For a short time he headed the rayon people's control committee. He was elected second secretary 8 months previously. He had not shown his worth in any way. And now, quite unexpectedly to everyone, he was being slated as first secretary.

Although Yuganov himself knew the situation in Dnovskiy Rayon perfectly well, attempts were made to explain to him what an alarming situation was taking shape. Together with the raykom first secretary, who was dismissed for omissions in work and for wrecking the plans, the rayon agroindustrial association chairman had also been removed. Thus, there would be someone new in that post too. At that same plenum it was proposed to elect someone who had been deputy chairman of the rayispolkom for just 6 months to the post of second secretary to replace V. Koyenen. Are such changes in the leadership of a laggard rayon justified?

But Yevgeniy Vasilyevich was adamant. I will not go into the details of how he succeeded in "prevailing" upon the raykom members; the vote was a difficult one. However, Yuganov was able to report to the obkom bureau that the job was done.

As was foretold at the plenum, the rayon yielded its positions still more. At the height of the winter--a hard winter, particularly in livestock raising, since insufficient feed had been laid in and it was difficult to find it either near or far--V. Koyenen asked to be sent to a laggard farm as its leader. That move suited both him personally and the party obkom. What is more, the obkom regarded such a step by a secretary who had been in his post just 6 months as a patriotic initiative. And the same Ye. Yuganov had to recommend to the raykom plenum a new candidate, from another rayon.

When A. Rybakov was asked a question about that Dnovskiy Rayon affair at a recent meeting with journalists, he replied:

"At that time we did not want to bring someone into the rayon from outside."

The explanation turned out to be quite simple.

The obkom decided to "appear decent with the reserve" in Dnovskiy Rayon in the Central Committee's eyes, deliberately dooming it to failures. But not a word was said about this at the obkom plenum which discussed problems of cadre work.

Some time ago the obkom held elections of first secretaries in Pechorskiy Raykom and Velikiye Luki Gorkom in the new way. In an atmosphere of democratism and openness true leaders capable of leading people were elected from all the candidates. In Pechory the raykom was headed by A. Montarovskiy, who worked previously as a sovkhoz director. The rayon is endeavoring to manage with its own cadres in all posts. They are cultivated and tested in action. They know that they are down on the reserve list for promotion (incidentally, in Dnovskiy Raykom this reserve is top secret, and not even the secretary of the party organization of the raykom apparatus is in on the secret). V. Polyakov, former secretary of Pechorskiy Raykom, was promoted to be chief of the obkom agricultural department. His successor managed things confidently, as under Polyakov, from whom he learned while a bureau member.

In Velikiye Luki a poll of the party aktiv brought to light the candidacy of V. Sitnikov, director of the radio plant, among the leaders. That was a surprise for the obkom. It came to light that the former gorkom leadership had endeavored to keep that director somewhat "in the shade," evidently fearing his popularity. But he received more votes than the other candidate--"from the reserve."

The first secretaries in Velikolukskiy and Gdovskiy Raykoms were replaced at almost that same time. But there was not so much as a mention of broad discussion. Everything had been decided in advance, in the obkom offices.

Then there was almost a misfire in Gdov. The obkom recommended A. Afanasyev, second secretary of Ostrov party gorkom, to replace N. Korotkov, an experienced party worker who had been moved to Velikolukskiy Rayon. Gdovskiy Rayon is a complex, rural rayon. But the candidate had never worked in the countryside. Therefore, while probably having nothing against him personally,

not knowing him at all, the plenum participants began saying that they had their own candidate. They named M. Demin, who had worked for quite a few years as raykom second secretary and recently headed the rayispolkom. There was a hitch. To save the obkom's prestige, M. Demin defused the situation by refusing to accept the nomination.

Incidentally, the plenum in Gdov was held after the real election in Pechorskiy Raykom. Why then, having obtained good results there, does the obkom not develop further this promising form of party work?

It was pointed out at the obkom plenum that the successful fulfillment of the earlier adopted targeted programs for agricultural production has not been achieved in the oblast. Oblispolkom Chairman V. Pushkarev, who delivered a pointed speech, said that not a single party committee, the obkom included, has yet abandoned the practice of unjustified interference in economic questions and of replacing leaders.

At the same time, the obkom sometimes adopts a strange stance of noninterference. It was pointed out that in a number of rayons improved land is being commissioned with great defects. The oblast was criticized for this in PRAVDA last year. The obkom responded by telling of measures taken. But nothing changed. Last year, once again, land was being accepted from reclamation workers until the evening of 31 December. It was no longer possible to verify anything under the snow, but the rayons' leaders pressured the economic planners to make them sign acceptance documents.

Incidentally, the prosecutor's office is now studying these facts. Who needs hectares on paper? Why do raykoms and rayispolkoms become the farmer's opponents here?

Much depends on persistence in fulfilling what is planned. Measures to give specific practical help to low-profitability and loss-making farms were examined at last year's plenum, for example. The number of these farms has not only not diminished but, on the contrary, has increased.

Each year, taking the helm of a particular agricultural campaign, the obkom outlines specific times for completing it, setting dates for ending the first cut of grasses, procuring hay, reaping grain crops, and sowing winter crops. And, as always, those deadlines are not met. New ones are set. And again they prove beyond the reach of many rayons and farms.

The method of leadership whereby plenipotentiary agents are sent out to farms and rayons is still practiced in Pskov Oblast. True, they are now called not plenipotentiary agents but party organizers.

This is how V. Yakovlev, first secretary of Loknyanskiy party raykom, evaluated their work in his rayon in his speech at last October's obkom plenum:

"The majority of the party organizers who come to our rayon's farms are conscientious people. But they are city dwellers who are sometimes far removed from the problems being resolved in the countryside today. Will they be able to give well founded advice and help to solve a particular problem when sometimes they do not know the problem? As educated people, leaders consider themselves obliged to give them every attention and assistance, particularly as every organizer has in his pocket a mandate granting him great powers. Because of their lack of training, the return from party organizers is almost zero. All this gives rise to awkwardness and sometimes irritation on both sides. Therefore, it is difficult to speak of any strengthening of political leadership in the overwhelming majority of cases."

Means and methods grow obsolete. And what was fitting yesterday is no longer suitable today.

But, following the obkom's lead, raykoms also frequently do not solve problems but give orders for harvesting. I visited Novorzhevskiy Rayon in the late fall. Harvesting there was halted owing to impassable roads following rain. Then the raykom bureau decided to appear no worse than others in terms, at least, of laying in seeds. Let us "shake out seeds" by making leaders abandon everything and tackle the seed stock. In vain did economic planners try to impress upon the first secretary, in the recent past a worker in the obkom organizational department, that it is possible to delay over seeds, while the chief thing is to throw all resources into harvesting, so that nothing is left in the fields. But the secretary did not back down.

And yet this has nothing in common with real party leadership. A raykom secretary is in no way "director of the rayon." But even today methods of political leadership find it difficult to take root. While knowing where such-and-such a quantity of milk is produced, a number of secretaries frequently have no idea that this is the third day that bread has not been brought into the village, that a pensioner milkmaid cannot get her television set repaired, or that a burly tractor driver neighbor will only plow a truck garden for a bottle [of liquor], although the job order has been written out in the office and the money has been paid in.

A few years ago Novosokolnicheskiy Rayon, for example, won the socialist competition and achieved high harvests and respectable milk yields. How the praises of the raykom secretary were sung!

He was transferred to Pskov, into the oblast orbit. But his successor discovered, so it turned out, that not a single club had been built in the rayon during the 5-year plan, the rayon hospital was falling down, and lack of attention to social problems had resulted in a loss of an entire 1,000 people. But, in all, less than 6,000 work in the countryside. A huge loss for the rayon. And, in the end, it affected economic affairs too.

Instability of results is characteristic of Pskov Oblast. The successes, which so many times were called the start of a natural upsurge, were followed by slumps. Hence nervousness. More than 250 of the 350 kolkhoz chairmen and

sovkhoz directors in the oblast were replaced during the 5-year plan. Some farms had two or three leaders during that time.

This detail is also of considerable importance. Only approximately 30 of the 130 specialists on the reserve list for promotion, who received instruction on appropriate courses at the Velikiye Luki Agricultural Institute, became farm leaders. The rest bypassed the reserve.

As already stated, during the past 3 5-year plans the state has invested a considerable amount in the Pskov Oblast countryside. But during this time milk yields and the yield per hectare and gross yields of flax, potatoes, and vegetables have fallen. The yield of grain crops is at a standstill, not exceeding an average of 12 quintals. It is hard to believe, but statistics confirm that meat and milk production has fallen by comparison with 1970. And this is because a breakthrough has not been achieved in the most important matter: The flow of cadres away from the countryside has not been stemmed.

The slogan "We Must Feed the People," which the oblast leaders frequently advance when the Food Program is mentioned, is, unfortunately, not backed up by deeds. The obkom prefers the old methods and, following its lead, workers locally are also abandoning them only slowly. And yet it is obvious that you will not get far in a carriage of the past. Only the activation of primary party organizations and labor collectives and the fostering of responsibility and initiative in cadres and all working people will produce the required return.

/9599

CSO: 1800/749

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

Lithuanian BUREAU DISCUSSES FUEL, CONSTRUCTION, DRUG ABUSE

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 27 May 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] At its regular session, the Communist Party Central Committee Bureau of Lithuania discussed the organizational work of the Kretingskiy raykom of the Communist Party of Lithuania relative to introducing cost accountability and progressive forms of labor organization into agricultural production. The resulting decree passed will be published in the press.

Participants discussed the problem of shortcomings in the use and storage of petroleum products in republic agriculture. The discussion brought out the fact that weak control on the part of the republic Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee], RAPO, managers and specialists at many kolkhozes, sovkhoses and agricultural enterprises are the cause of serious violations of state discipline in the handling of storage, norm setting, record keeping, and procedures followed in the use of petroleum products. Many facilities have not stamped out cases of petroleum product misuse. Radical improvement is required in the activity of the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products, which is not assuring regular deliveries of petroleum products relative to types and seasonal requirements. Little progress is being made in converting agricultural heating systems to the use of electrical energy that is supplied to facilities at night. Party, soviet, and facility organizations have not been completely successful in engendering in workers a feeling of economy in the use of fuel and energy resources, and they have not fostered intolerance of occurrences of mismanagement and waste.

The Bureau has charged the republic Gosagroprom, Alitusskiy and Kapsukaskiy gorkoms and party raykoms with the responsibility of effecting a substantial improvement in efficient use of fuels and lubricants in republic agriculture. The Gosagroprom and RAPO are to outline and take the necessary steps to eliminate existing shortcomings and require facility and enterprise managers to systematize the consumption, record keeping, and norm setting of petroleum product use. They are to put an end to mismanagement, misuse of fuel, and pollution of the environment, and render local assistance to eliminate these shortcomings. The Goskonnefteprodukt [State Committee for the Supply of

Petroleum Products] is to take the necessary steps to install a system for closely monitoring the quality of fuels delivered to facilities and maintain strict control of fuel dispensing with regard to allocated funds, fuel types and seasonal requirements. The Gosagroprom and Goskorgaz [State Committee for Gas] are to take additional steps to accomplish tasks associated with converting agricultural heating systems to the use of natural gas and liquified gas.

Editorial staffs of republic television, radio and newspapers are to publicize widely the advanced experience gained in the economical and careful consumption of fuel and energy resources; they are to diligently uncover and widely publicize cases of poor management of petroleum product use and storage.

To promote timely preparation of the republic economy for winter, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and Republic Council of Ministers adopted a decree relative to providing the economy and populace with fuel, electric and thermal power in the fall and winter period of 1987/1988. In the decree the emphasis is made that the most important task of ministries and departments, gorkoms and raykoms of the Communist Party of Lithuania, and of gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, is uninterrupted functioning of the national economy in the fall and winter period. The Buro set the requirement of developing and accomplishing by 1 November 1987 the steps necessary for preparing for reliable and stable operation of industrial and transportation associations, enterprises and organizations in this period. Special attention is to be paid to supplying the populace and municipal and everyday service institutions with fuel. Accomplishment of the work was made the personal responsibility of ministers, department managers, chairmen of gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, and managers of associations, enterprises and organizations.

Also taken up at the meeting was the problem of expanding collective awareness of labor discipline and social discipline in the republic. A decree dealing with this problem will be published in the press.

For more rapid elimination of the lag in developing the material and technical base of the social and cultural sector and to accelerate resolution of the housing problem in the republic, the Communist Party Central Committee of Lithuania and the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers passed a decree which makes provisions for carrying out the tasks approved for the 12th Five-Year Plan relative to developing this material and technical base of the social and cultural sector.

The Buro set the requirement for gorkoms, party raykoms, gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, ministries and departments, and party, soviet, trade union and komsomol organizations, to take positive action to effect fundamental improvement in construction of social and cultural facilities and to fill in the gap caused by the existing lag. They are to consider as a matter of primary political importance the accomplishment of tasks approved for the 12th Five-Year Plan relative to provision of residential housing, schools, pre-school institutions, vocational schools, specialized secondary and higher schools, hospitals, polyclinics, clubs, houses of culture, moving picture theaters and other social and cultural facilities.

Another topic discussed at the session was improvement in disseminating information on the harm caused by drug abuse. The discussion resulted in approval of recommendations on disseminating this information. Considering the serious social danger of drug addiction, the Buro made it incumbent upon party gorkoms and raykoms, ispolkoms of municipal and rayon councils of people's deputies, and respective ministries and departments to use this information widely in their practical work, raise the level of work of party *committee speakers' groups, provide instruction at an accelerated pace for* persons to conduct public discussions on the more pressing problems of the struggle against drug addiction. Working jointly with institutions of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, and with institutions of ministries of health, education, internal affairs and justice, and of the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for Vocational Education, they are to insure an adequate number of speakers on drug abuse, including scientists, teachers, and economic specialists who are knowledgeable and experienced in this area.

Discussion of the problem of improving the activity of creative unions of the republic resulted in adopting a decree of the Communist Party Central Committee of Lithuania and the Republic Council of Ministers that makes provision for substantial assistance to the creative activity of masters of Soviet culture and for improving their material and everyday status, strengthening the material and technical basis of creative unions, and advancing the art of information dissemination.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Buro also examined a number of problems related to the economic and political life of the republic.

13005

CSO: 1800/646

MOLDAVIAN BURO CENSURES PERSISTING CORRUPTION

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 6 May 87 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "At the Moldavian CP Central Committee": "To Eradicate Figure Inflation and False Reporting"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro has adopted a resolution "On the Serious Shortcomings in the Implementation of Departmental Control and on Supplemental Measures to Decisively Stop False Reporting and Figure Inflation."

The resolution notes that the supervisors of a number of the republic's ministries and departments have not taken effective measures to implement the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 4th Plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee on the improvement of intra-departmental control. The resolution also noted that the supervisors have failed to staff the monitoring and auditing services with qualified personnel, that they have failed to raise the quality of the audits and inspections being conducted, and they have not provided for timely examinations and adoptions of decisions regarding auditing materials. This has not been conducive to the rapid identification and eradication of the causes and conditions that give rise to violations of socialist law, to figure inflation and to false reporting.

It is particularly alarming that many enterprises and organizations have still not eliminated mismanagement, infringement upon socialist property, and the distortion of reports regarding the fulfillment of state planning assignments.

Shortages and thefts amounting to more than seven million rubles were uncovered within the State Agro-Industrial Committee system in 1986, and falsified reports were discovered in 259 farms. Illegal expenditures, shortages, and thefts amounted to 663,000 rubles in organizations of the Ministry of Health, 172,000 rubles within the Ministry of Local Industry, and 123,000 rubles within the Ministry of Education. During the first quarter of the current year statistics offices of the republic uncovered 38 cases of figure inflation and concealment. These included 22 such cases at the State Agro-Industrial Committee, three cases at the Ministry of Consumer Services, and two cases at the Ministry of Construction. This kind of ugly phenomenon was also found in March at enterprises and organizations of the

Grigoriopolskiy, Yedinetskiy, Kutuzovski, Novoanenskiy, Orgeyevskiy, and Strashenskiy rayons.

In many cases the departmental audits and inspections are still of little effectiveness. They merely comprise a superficial statement about violations without any detailed analysis of the reasons for mismanagement, figure inflation, and abuses. The auditors frequently give insufficient attention to making specific identifications of persons guilty of violating state discipline and obtaining full compensation for the material losses incurred by the state.

As of the beginning of 1987 the monitoring and auditing service at the State Agro-Industrial Committee (V. A. Protsenko) was understaffed by 21 persons, or 11 percent. The understaffing of that service at the Ministry of Health K. A. Draganyuk) was five persons, or 23 percent, and at the Ministry of Education (D. G. Zidu) it was three persons, or 21 percent. Auditors are often selected without a thorough examination of their business-like qualities and the level of their professional training. At the Ministry of Local Industry (N. D. Kudryavtseva) almost two-thirds of the auditing apparatus is staffed by persons with less than three years of practical experience. At the Ministry of Education three-fourths of the auditing service fits into that category. In a number of cases at the State Agro-Industrial Committee auditor jobs are held by agronomists, livestock experts, and engineers. The training of auditors has not been properly organized and often certification examinations are not given.

The serious shortcomings in auditor personnel situation are adversely affecting the fulfillment of plans and the quality of the audits undertaken. In 1986 only 52 percent of the auditing plan was completed at the State Agro-Industrial Committee. The operations of 852 enterprises were not audited, and there were 63 enterprises whose operations have not been audited for more than two years. Auditing plans were not fulfilled by the Ministry of Education (43 percent) and the Ministry of Health (93 percent). The fulfillment of orders and decisions emanating from previous audits are being poorly monitored.

The supervisors of a number of ministries are grossly violating the times established for the release of audit materials. Reviews of audit materials have been delayed up to three to five months or even longer at the State Agro-Industrial Committee and the Ministry of Local Industry, and up to two months at the ministries of education and health. This is one of the reasons for the fact that the persons directly responsible for mismanagement, extravagance, figure inflation, and abuses often escape accountability so that the losses they inflicted upon the state are only partially compensated.

The control exercised by the MSSR Ministry of Finance (A. L. Budyanu) over the operations of the extra-departmental monitoring services remains at an extremely low level of effectiveness. The Ministry often limits its activities to mere formal bureaucratic hearings of reports on these problems from individual ministerial and departmental supervisors.

Serious neglect in the maintenance of intradepartmental controls and numerous violations of state discipline have become possible because within the

republic's national economy there have been recent trends whereby minimal demands have been placed on personnel to perform their assigned tasks. That neglect has also been due to the lack of control, dishonest connivance, all-around permissiveness, and a conciliatory attitude toward the fact that in a number of cases persons who have previously compromised themselves have been allowed to take auditing and accounting positions. This has led to their collusion with criminal elements as well as to embezzlements and abuses. As was correctly noted in article in the April 21 issue of PRAVDA of this year entitled "After Figure Inflation," the republic experienced an epidemic of falsified reports and all kinds of index adjustments. For many persons they became a means of underfulfilling or overfulfilling plans and a source of prizes.

The supervisors of many ministries and departments are still slow in restructuring the style and methods employed for managing their sectors, and are not adopting decisive measures to eradicate negative phenomena. They often conceal shortcomings in their operations to give the appearance of well-being in their subdepartmental organizations. Violations disclosed by audits are not properly assessed and are not broadly publicized, and the persons guilty of violations escape responsibility.

The party gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations of the ministries, departments, and other administrative organs are not exercising proper control over the implementation of party decisions about improvements in departmental controls. They are giving little attention to the selection, assignment, training, and education of audit personnel and to party stratification in this sector of endeavor. In a number of cases demands to intensify the struggle against figure inflation are treated as a routine campaign.

The Buro of the Central Committee strictly pointed out the serious shortcomings in the work of First Deputy Chairman of the MSSR State Agro-Industrial Committee V. A. Protsenko, Minister of Education D. G. Zidu, Minister of Local Industry N. D. Kudryavtseva, and Minister of Health K. A. Draganyuk with regard to the implementation of the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 4th Plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee to improve departmental control. The Buro also warned them that they are personally responsible for putting this matter in proper order.

The gorkoms and raykoms of the party and the primary party organizations were informed of the necessity to intensify their control over the operations of the ministerial and departmental apparatus as well as other administrative organs with respect to the fulfillment of these demands. They were also instructed to strive for the creation of a united front in the struggle to strengthen state discipline and eradicate mismanagement, figure inflation, and abuses. In the light of the decisions of the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee to improve the selection, assignment, and education of audit personnel and to strengthen party stratification in this sector, the party gorkoms and raykoms have been commissioned to examine materials concerning falsified reports that were discovered in the current year.

The Central Committee Buro has recommended that the press, radio, and television be utilized more fully in the struggle against figure inflation and false reporting. It was decided that information about each identified case of such violations as well as the measures adopted to eradicate them and the punishment prescribed for the guilty persons should be provided to the public and to the labor collectives in which those violations were identified. It was also ordered that broader publicity should be given to advanced experience gained in inventory and accountability procedures and the strict observance of accountability discipline in the national economy.

The party organizations of the ministerial and departmental apparatus have been commissioned to make the cadre more responsible for the reliability of data on the fulfillment of state planning assignments and to take firm control over efforts to instill order and discipline in the inventory, accountability, and protection of socialist property.

The ministries, state committees, and departments of the republic are to undertake exhaustive measures to restructure the operation of the monitoring and auditing services and to staff them with highly qualified, experienced specialists. They are to provide that staff with regular training and conduct periodic certification examinations as well as provide them with the essential housing and everyday needs. In addition, material and moral incentives are to be more broadly practiced.

The activity of the monitoring and auditing apparatus is to be aimed at an improvement in the efficiency of audits, an intensified control over the fulfillment of planning assignments and the prudent utilization of material and financial resources as well as the proper arrangement of accountant stock-taking. That apparatus must persistently strive to eradicate the causes and conditions that give rise to violations of state discipline, mismanagement, figure inflation, and false reporting.

Comprehensive audits of the financial and managerial operations of enterprises and organizations are to be assured. The audits are to be conducted in close cooperation with the offices of the procurator and internal affairs and supported by the labor collectives, public organizations, and people's control organs.

The ministers, the chairmen of the state committees, and departmental supervisors are to be personally responsible for the timely review of audit materials and the adoption of measures essential to the eradication of violations and shortcomings, the institution of proceedings against violators, and compensation for material losses. They must adopt the practice of hearing the reports of enterprise and organization supervisors at labor collective meetings on audit results as well as on the measures they have taken to eliminate identified shortcomings and violations. They must also significantly intensify the employment of economic and legal leverage in the struggle against figure inflation by firmly consolidating this endeavor with the current efforts to improve the managerial machinery and system of administration.

The MSSR Ministry of Finance has been asked to adopt effective measures to intensify its control over the procedures of audits in the ministries, state committees, and departments of the republic, and to assure that the intra-departmental control personnel make detailed comprehensive audits of the reliability of accountant inventory and accountability reports and protection of socialist property at the enterprises and organizations. They are also to audit the identification and elimination of the causes and conditions that give rise to mismanagement, abuses, figure inflation and false reporting, and other violations. Regular summaries and analyses are to be made of inspection reports and, when necessary, suggestions are to be made to the directive organs of the republic regarding the improvement of departmental controls.

The Central Statistical Administration, the Ministry of Finance, the Moldavian republic offices of USSR Gosbank and USSR Bank for Financing Capital Investments, the MSSR Committee of the People's Control, and other control organs are to assure that efforts are made to prevent and eradicate figure inflation and that those efforts are thoroughly monitored. The state statistics authorities are to be entrusted with the coordination of checking the reliability of accountability reports at all levels of financial administration.

The MSSR Procurator, the MVD, the Ministry of Justice, and the State Board of Arbitration of the republic have been informed about the need to intensify their efforts to prevent violations associated with figure inflations, the importance of their timely disclosure. They have also been advised of the need for operative reviews of cases and an intensification of administrative and criminal punishment of persons guilty of deceiving the state and distorting accountability reports.

6289

CSO: 1800/620

MOSCOW DISCUSSES OPENNESS POLICY

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["Political Conversations" program, presented by Grigoriy Surenovich Oganov, political observer of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA; with Fedor Mikhaylovich Burlatskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences, and Mikhail Ivanovich (Piskotin), editor in chief of SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO"--SOVIET STATE AND LAW]

[Excerpts] [Oganov] Hello, comrade listeners. We have gathered in the studio today to say something about a topic that is extremely important for us: Human rights, the potential for real implementation of these rights under conditions of socialism.

The question arises: Why have we selected the topic of human rights precisely today? It seems to me that there are three main reasons that can explain this: First, the very stage that we are now going through. The April plenum of 1985 and the 27th party congress marked, as you know, a crucial turning point in our development and set before the country immense tasks of accelerating scientific-technological and socioeconomic progress, for which we, to be blunt, thirsted. We are, in essence, talking about renewal of the entire social mechanism, including broad democratization in all spheres of common life. This is discussed, specifically, in the points on the agenda of the seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Three of these four points directly concern problems of human rights.

Secondly, of late the interest and attention of Soviet people has increased in the operation of the law of social development under socialism, and, first and foremost, under the conditions of restructuring. Our listeners are deeply interested in how restructuring is to be reflected in implementation of the constitutional rights and duties of Soviet people.

And the third thing, finally, is an external circumstance: the desire of our western opponents to make accusations of some kind of violation of human rights in the Soviet Union. One gets the impression that the human rights issue has been some sort of compensation for the bourgeois propaganda for its manifest failures in other aspects of international policy.

[Burlatskiy] Grigoriy Surenovich, you have spoken of the attacks on us on the human rights issue. Well, I was in Reykjavik; before that I was in Geneva, at

the summit meetings, and I very often met journalists, and, it is true, this issue was the most frequent dish of the day during our press conferences and meetings, the issue of human rights here. Our western opponents usually cannot keep off the question, off the destiny of some person or another, some dissident or some other kind of people who are, they say, subject to persecution, in their view, in our countries. We have given explanations on these specific questions, but is there any need, any requirement at all to talk to us about human rights in our country? Indeed, everything has already been done here to implement these rights, and it only remains for us to give a rebuff to the attacks on this issue coming from outside. I am convinced that we do have a human rights problem, but is nothing at all to do with our foreign policy discussions.

The first, and most important, thing is the problem of the permanent development of democracy. Without increasingly profound and universal broadening of social, economic, political, civil, and personal rights, there is no development of democracy. And the second, no less important problem pertains to bureaucratism. Bureaucratism is not only an infringement of the interests of all of society as a whole, not only an infringement of one law or another relating to state activity, it is, as a rule, an infringement of personal rights.

[Oganov] I would like to go back to a question that is now to be discussed at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, that is juridical guarantees of human rights. I personally accord very great importance to this issue. Let's discuss in what directions, specifically, a solution to this problem can be conceived.

[(Piskoton)] I would like to add another band to the spectrum of this problem: The fact is that it seems to me that among the contradictions of our development there is one problem that has to be thought over, it is the custom of our economic bodies, of our state institutions; they have some kind of predilection for exclusive centralisation, elevated in to a panacea. This has historical roots: There was a time when this was necessary, it played its progressive role during the first of our 5-year plans, but it then came into utter contradiction with the whole course of our further development.

[Burlatskiy] Centralization, bureaucratization, and standardization are brothers.

[Oganov] In any event, they are brothers in the sense that they are all sharply contradictory of their sister, democratization. This manifests itself particularly in the management field, that is, where hundreds of thousands of problems continually have to be resolved, specific and local problems coming up all the time, that have to be solved locally, to be solved according to what is today, so to speak, important, to be solved while relying on the masses, taking counsel with them, channelling their energy.

It is inconvenient for production managers, for the commanders of the economy, it is much easier for them to await instructions, directions from the center, and instead of making bold use of the rights that are provided, including

such rights as are stipulated in the Law on Labor Collectives and the Law on the Socialist Enterprise, these people blindly follow obsolete, stagnant instructions that do not take account of the realities.

What does this mean? It means that every local and specific initiative is suppressed, it means that the masses are being called upon to function like everyone else, i.e. in effect human rights are being restricted, the potential of a person to realize his abilities and talents is restricted. So it seems to me that discrediting this accustomed centralization is the task of all of our society, but, to a considerable extent, it is a task of the state.

[Burlatskiy] Grigoriy Surenovich, I would like to add to what you have said. This is a very important aspect. I would state it thus: legal safeguards for economic and social reform. People are saying now, and not without foundation, that certain reforms are going into a skid. Take cooperatives: a decision on this was taken plenty of time ago. In Moscow, to be blunt, I think there are two or three cooperative cafes which have been a sensation and, it seems, are even guarded by the militia. So, at the moment, one might expect several hundred, or even several thousand, cafes to be opening, and I often ponder why this is happening. Of course, there is a certain resistance on the part of officials, a lack of understanding of the need for it, but it seems to me that one of the main reasons is the lack of legal safeguards for the decisions being made, because--a decision is made, but the instructions of the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Internal Affairs...

[(Piskotin)--interrupting] The instructions remain the same...

[?Oganov--interrupting] Obstruction, yes...

[Burlatskiy--interrupting] That is, the superficial appearance is new, but the internal content is still being managed by the very same officials, to whom a person comes and says: I want to engage in individual labor activity, say, in one field or another. Well, I ask you.

You do get instructions that are not lifted, new instructions are not adopted and behind all this stands, I repeat, a big, precisely a state problem--I am in agreement with you--of legal safeguards for every decision that is made.

[(Piskotin)] Our conversation demonstrates just how wide the topic of human rights is, and how it is linked with all the problems that our society is now experiencing. I am completely in agreement that without a very precise legal safeguard, no decisions at all can be implemented, and perhaps the restructuring of our economic mechanism--and here I'm using the word adduced by Fedor Mikhaylovich--is really going into a skid because we have not yet erected beneath it a firm base that would ensure the independence of the enterprises and associations and give citizens the opportunity of realizing all their rights, and labor collectives the opportunity of independently dealing with the matters that come up before them. Of all the links from which the restructuring of the economic mechanism is taking shape, the enterprise is the most important, so it was a sensible and wise step when it

was decided that a start had to be made with drafting the Law on the Socialist Enterprise. But very strong resistance developed over precisely this point, that there should be real independence for enterprises, and we can even judge from the kind of draft that was published: It carried with it into print great contradictions, compromises. On the one hand, it proclaims very broad independence, but on the other hand, it formulates rule that reduce this independence to nought to some extent. I am talking only about the draft.

[Burlatskiy] Mikhail Ivanovich, I would also like to say a few words about the draft of this law. I am troubled by the fact that virtually nothing is said in this draft about superior organizations--what will Gosplan do, what will the ministries do, and what remains for them to do? It proclaims very broad rights for the enterprise, but says nothing about what remains at the top level; they give themselves over to references, within the framework of instructions and directions coming from these organizations, yet the problem is setting up precise, in the legal sense, regulatory, reciprocal ties between the enterprise and the ministry, between the ministry and Gosplan, between the plan and the market, i.e. fixing prices, determining who distributes the profit and how, what is the role of the labor collective here, what is the relationship within it between the administration and public organizations.

That's it, that's what should be properly determined finally in the law and letters from the working people urge a decision in precisely that direction.

[Oganov] Our complaints against those institutions and those of our organizations that would be promoting the implementation of these plans and the implementation of these laws are perfectly just.

I think that of late there has already been a leap forward in the standard of political self-consciousness of the masses--this is attested to by letters, this is attested to by the broad discussion of very complex problems, and this gives hope that this process, the growth in political culture, will continue.

[Burlatskiy] Yes, here you have come right up to the question of openness. Openness has, of course, opened up the broadest possibilities both for development of political culture and political consciousness and for the participation of every person at various levels: Within the framework of the labor collective, or through letters or other forms of discussion of serious, and frequently, key problems of our development. It seems to me that we are witness to the formation of a new social institute: This is the institute of public opinion, an institute of public opinion as one of the most influential forces in the political system and the political process.

[(Piskotin)] Yes, Fedor Mikhaylovich, I agree entirely. I would go back to the topic of political culture, and I think that when we speak of political culture we cannot forget that it is the result of decades of previous development, when relations between the apparatus and citizens were structured in such a way that not so much depended on the citizen. Moreover, there was the centralization that Grigoriy Surenovich talked about. Indeed, we have become accustomed to a very great degree of centralization, when all matters

are dealt with from above. People have even lost faith in local authorities. They consider it impossible to find their rights in the clutches of the bureaucrats, those who encroach upon their rights locally. It is no accident that people over here are very fond of writing either to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee or to the congress, as this is also the result of our previous development, including excessive centralization.

We have great shortcomings in our political culture, but we are changing it by propaganda alone. You have to bring in new political institutions in order to change the political culture, the system of behavior and the stereotypes of behavior of people. On this level an immense role is being played by openness. Of course, we can see how over the past few months, perhaps 18 months, our society has literally grown up. Indeed, we can see how in the atmosphere of openness people have started to talk and write in a different way, they have a deeper and more serious understanding of many of the problems that were closed to them up until now.

[Burlatskiy] Grigoriy Surenovich, you have touched upon the question of the press. We have already touched upon the question of openness.

[Oganov] This function is carried out by the press, and is carried out as it should be by journalists, by a Bolshevik press, with honor, but today it also needs a defense.

[Burlatskiy] Yes. Now, as far as I know a draft Law on the Press is being discussed now, so far it is at the stage of being worked on. I think that this draft law will provide a certain guarantee for broadening openness and for greater freedom in journalism, it will oblige officials to react appropriately to material in the press and, of course, will increase the responsibility of the journalists themselves--a journalist is not the Lord God, he can make mistakes, and a citizen must have the right to protection in the event that he is unjustly offended by a journalist or any press organ. You know what a painful attitude our newspapers have to a denial--these occur most rarely in our press. And this aspect of the matter will evidently also be provided for by the corresponding law and will be regulated by procedure.

[Oganov] In other words, Fedor Mikhaylovich, a bureaucrat, wherever he might hide--in the executive committee or in the editorial office--will find himself up against the wall.

[Burlatskiy] Or at least will be checked up on.

[(Piskotin)] I would like to keep the topic of the creation of a legal basis for openness going. This has already been spoken of in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report to the January plenum, and indeed, while the measure of openness is going to depend on the judgment of one official in the leadership apparatus or another, a party or state official, we cannot count upon an operational and effective openness.

[Burlatskiy] Mikhail Ivanovich, I think that this is one of the principle issues you are talking about, because information is democracy and liberty. Absence of information or limitation of information is limitation of democracy and limitation of liberty. And we are faced with the task of really seriously working through the question of social statistics. We have an institute like this only at the stage of being set up.

[(Piskotin)] Of late, there have been very many reports in the press of how much massaging is done to economic statistics.

[?Oganov] Cunning.

[(Piskotin)] Yes, cunning figures. But social statistics, particularly statistics about the unhealthy phenomena in our lives--on crime, alcoholism, on drug abuse--are only now, and only locally, reaching the public. This is an institution that has to be got going simultaneously with the institute for studying public opinion.

And, by the way, it is in my view very important for a moral recovery, for a cleansing of society. When a society reconciles itself to some aspects of its life being closed, this leads, in the end, to the development of indifference and callousness, and people lose their sensitivity to any kind of unhealthy phenomenon. The problems fester.

/9599

CSO: 1800/752

MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

JOURNALIST DESCRIBES HOW BUREAUCRATS OBSTRUCT GLASNOST

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 May 87 p 2

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent M. Kryukov, Rostov-on-Don: "On Newspaper Topics : 'Not for the Press?"; passages within slantlines published in italics].

[Text] /Yu. Bykova, correspondent of the city newspaper VECHERNIY ROSTOV, phoned the chief designer of the oblmestprom association's planning and design bureau and asked to describe what are they working on there now./

/"Before carrying on a conversation with the newspaper," an answer was heard, "I must get my chief's permission."/

/"Call later."/

She called, and heard:

"Our chief wants to find out the opinion of the association's general director on this matter. Call in a few days."

The correspondent dialed the general director's telephone number herself.

"If they have something interesting, of course, let them describe," he replied.

Yu. Bykova phoned the chief designer again. But... She never received the necessary information. The chief designer informed her that the bureau chief told the newspaper to apply to the association's general director in writing with a request for permission to gather information on the bureau's developments.

Perhaps, the bureau is working on problems which represent a state secret? No. They have prepared, for example, designs for modernization of the Donskiye Uzory Production Association. They have also completed new building designs of the knitwear and haberdashery goods production association. The Souvenir Association will be modernized based on their designs. In general, the people are engaged in work that is needed by the townspeople. The townspeople would be rather interested in learning about this. Why was there a need to put obstacles in the journalist's way in obtaining such information?

We are beginning to live under the conditions of glasnost. The people want to know everything and to obtain exhaustive information about events occurring around them. The professional duty of a journalist is to "obtain" this news. However, various institutions and departments are "procrastinating" on various pretexts when journalists need to obtain some or other information. They impose prohibitions. Ask such persons, why do they always coordinate and coordinate, but cannot answer anything intelligently. Most often there are instructions of the head of a desk: "Without my permission there will be no leakage of information whatsoever!" This happens out of fear that they may not convey "the right thing" or show something "not in the right light." Even if quite often the needed information is most ordinary. One, indeed, still cannot avoid the bureaucratic waste of time.

At times efforts are being made not to allow a journalist behind the "curtain" of events; he ~~is not~~ provided with needed documents. Not only supervisors behave like this. Some labor collectives also do not want to "wash their dirty linen in public." For this they also have their reasons.

I will refer to examples from the life of associates of the same VECHERNIY ROSTOV. After visiting the Rostov Intercity Cargo Motor Transport Enterprise, V. Marenich published a correspondence entitled "Mismanagement." (The heading, as you can see, speaks for itself.) The correspondence was discussed at a meeting of the Sovetskiy Raykom Buro of Rostov. Replies to the editorial office were sent by the rayon procurator's office and the rayon committee of people's control. Supervisors of the enterprise were punished and, as usual, measures "for elimination" were outlined.

A month and a half later, the journalist came to the motor transport enterprise again in order to learn what changes have occurred. It turned out that the party buro was about to hold a meeting. Why not listen to what its members think of the present situation in the collective? But they, upon learning that the correspondent wants to "penetrate" them, protested and voted against his presence at the meeting. They told the journalist:

"We will solve our own internal affairs, our discussions are not for the press..."

What did the party buro members want to conceal from the correspondent? He did not leave the enterprise. He studied the situation and was convinced that there were no changes for the better after the speeches at the "evening party." He discovered new unattractive facts. The newspaper described the affairs at the enterprise once again. And again the raykom buro discussed the correspondence, punished the guilty, and outlined measures...

One cannot get rid of the feeling that these measures are outlined in a formalistic manner, only for the sake of being left alone by the newspaper.

Another example. The abnormal situation at the Rostov Meat Combine was described by the newspaper last year as well as this year. Theft, fraud, and gross violations of production and labor discipline--all of this "existed."

Combine director B. Borisov responded to the articles in the newspaper: punishment was imposed on some supervisors and a comprehensive plan was developed for all occurrences in life, which included measures ranging from modernization of the combine to struggle against theft. Judging by the response a meeting, a conference, and discussions were held. In a word, they reacted.

But alarming signals continued to come to the editorial office. Naturally, the editorial office decided to get interested in how the comprehensive plan is being implemented. Upon arriving at the combine correspondent N. Toropchin did not discover any traces of active implementation of this plan.

A meeting of the collective on the condition of labor discipline was planned to be held in the production and veterinary control department. Together with the chairman of the trade union committee the newspaper worker went there: the discussion could be interesting, critical. How was the journalist welcomed at the meeting? To put it mildly, in an unfriendly manner:

"Who invited him?"

"We will sort things out without a correspondent!"

"There is a motion to postpone the meeting."

Much effort was needed to calm down the discontented ones. The meeting was held. But one of the department workers promised:

"We will write a refutation to the scribble. A collective one!"

This is a prevalent disease: many see the basic evil in a correspondent and in his articles and not in themselves and among themselves. A news report has not been written yet, but a refutation is already on its way. A tested ploy.

The director did not treat the journalist any better. He flatly refused to acquaint N. Toropchin with documents on the "movement" of meat.

"At the Stockyard," this was the title of another news report in VECHERNIY ROSTOV on disorders at the meat combine. It was discussed at the enterprise. N. Toropchin was present at the meeting.

The journalist came to attend a discussion of his article. He was not afraid, although the article was not to everyone's liking, for some it was like a sharp knife. One of them rudely insulted the newsman. And no one restrained him or put him in his place. A representative of the Kirovskiy Raykom was also silent.

Critical material has been appearing in VECHERNIY ROSTOV increasingly more often. The newspaper has been waging a battle more boldly against show-offs, bureaucrats, and dodgers. Lately, the Rostov Gorkom has been actively supporting its newspaper. Therefore, journalists do not retreat in the face of difficulties.

They occupy a militant position. This is very important now. Reorganization has increased the determination of many people, they turn more often to the editorial office: "Help us in illuminating with the light of glasnost!" Is this not a lofty trust?

The persistence of VECHERNIY ROSTOV journalists in putting things in proper order at the meat combine has been supported by the Kirovskiy Raykom and the gorkom. After discussing the newspaper article, their buros gave a fundamental appraisal of the state of affairs.

At a meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with supervisors of mass media and propaganda it was stated that a respectful attitude of party and state organs and economic supervisors toward journalists and their articles in the press must become a norm. After all, all of us have a common field of struggle--for reorganization.

9817

CSO: 1800/678

## MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

### OGONEK READERS COMMENT ON GLASNOST

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 17, Apr 87 pp 4,5

[Letters to the editor: "No Need For Half-Truth Today"]

[Text] I have read in the OGONEK the fiery commentator article by S. Fedorov "So That It Will Never Be Repeated" (No 8).

I do not see, I do not know of a mechanism that bars the way to top, which, let us say, is the most deserving. You may say that such a mechanism is glasnost, democracy. One must study the one and the other persistently and courageously for a long time, but the nimble ones, who live according to the "what do you desire" principle; have already mastered it. They sing, as before, but only other songs.

When will a single law begin to work without a hitch for all, and, first of all, for communists? Can one believe that a person who has grown accustomed to being a lackey, bent with constant zeal on pleasing the authorities, and being aware deep in his soul of his nonentity (I am convinced that everyone knows the objective assessment of himself), would suddenly straighten up and state: "I cannot I do not correspond, I am leaving." Utopia. He has grown accustomed to a certain way of life and to its quantitative and qualitative aspects and will hold on with his teeth to an armchair, a chair, a seat...

Very much has been said to the people. I would personally say one more word: counterrevolution. Then everything would stand in its place. It is a question now, as I understand it, first of all, of the irreversibility of revolutionary reorganization, of a very real struggle to the death, because the scum are encroaching upon the most sacred--upon socialist ideals. The scum have seen in socialism only an opportunity to have an abundant (in the broadest sense of the word) and enjoyable life.

It seems to me: during the cold and hungry years, the people have built our life, our might, our superpower. What happened? Where are the roots, the initial cause of what has happened?

It is a difficult time. A time of struggle for some, of waiting for others, and of resistance for the rest. Write boldly and loudly about this. There is no need for half-truth today.

[Signed] M. Yakovleva, Moscow.

I wish that the public would finally realize that all of our troubles (absolutely all, in the spiritual sphere or in the economy, including the incompetence of supervisors and specialists of all levels and fields) emanate from one root. This root is the restriction of people's rights during formation of organs of authority. It can be said that this is a change of the genetic basis of state organism, and the metastases manifest themselves everywhere. In realizing this the aims and means of struggle are easily formed and defined. Otherwise all energy will be wasted on talk.

[Signed] V. Remizov, Gorkiy.

Today, we openly talk about everything that seemed to be impermissible only yesterday. But as before we still feel uneasy in openly admitting the fact that negative youth problems are only a consequence of our numerous educational imperfections and oversights, particularly of a moral aspect...

A timely question was raised, and extremely seriously at that, in the sketch entitled "Hustlers" (OGONEK No. 8). At the present time, particularly after implementing the Law on Individual Labor Activity it would be extremely advantageous and convenient to acquaint with the "dog trade" those minors who wish to have their own pocket money without pondering if animals can be killed for the sake of money. In this connection it is necessary to have such legislation which would prohibit the catching of domestic animals and their destruction by private persons, hustlers, and people without elementary moral principles.

[Signed] L. Alekseyeva, candidate of psychological sciences, Moscow.

The article "Why is Our Muse Without Rights?!" (OGONEK No. 8) brilliantly refutes the pseudo-scientific red tape in inventiveness. The essence of the matter is expressed precisely and truthfully. Even one, seemingly, small addition in the name of a state committee--"on introduction"--will make the staff account not for the accumulation of creative labor on shelves, but for its realization. Do not leave developers of the new law in peace. True champions of "our muse" must be included in the commission and A. N. Filippov without fail.

Life of creative activity is difficult now, and formation of an effective union is simply a dream! Do not abandon the set goal--the adoption of a truly Leninist law, whose principles are mentioned in the article, and the inventors will always support you.

[Signed] V. Nosov, scientific associate, Lyubertsy, Moscow Oblast.

The thoughts of A. Filippov, merited inventor of the USSR, and the thoughts of many years of my own life have stirred me up.

I am an engineer and have worked for 20 years as a senior engineer, chief of a machine shop, and chief mechanic of a plant. I have repeatedly suffered defeat in introducing my own and other peoples inventions and innovations, which were small with regard to their importance. And each time I have heard the same maxims: "Persons on their own in our age are helpless... What is it with you, wages are not enough? You are trying to worm in with innovations... Stop it!"

I had to stop because "coauthors" pestered me and because it was necessary to formalize and to force one's way through.

I have always had a dream of introduction brigades and even asked to become a leader of such a brigade myself, but I was ridiculed as I was regarded as a top-level worker. I have left the engineering field at that time and again, like 20 years ago, became a metalworker. When I am manufacturing a machine tool, an automatic device, and equipment for basic production, then to some degree I am satisfying my need in introducing something new. I work quite well. My overall length of service is 38 years, including 14 years devoted to highly skilled metalwork. Behind me are a vocational school, service in the army, and the aforementioned positions. I am 8 years away from a pension. While engaged in supervisory work I became fed up with the fuss over meetings, the empty scribbles, the endless inspections, simple check-ups, and false accounts... My wife jokes on this point: "You want to have a fast result, wash the dishes!" An experimental metalworker has more creativity at work than a chief mechanic of a silica brick plant. Here one does not have to develop the abilities of a cheat, a moneychanger, and an obtainer.

My introduction dreams are sectorial. Unfortunately, the ministries are helpless in this matter. If I was the minister of the construction materials industry then I would not permit such diversity in the successes of plants which produce the same output, namely bricks.

It turned out that the ministerial "fearsome club" was unable to bring sectorial plants not only to one denominator but even at least to ones close to each other. All of this because the ministry is neglecting introduction work. Introduction of innovations and inventions is only a part of overall stagnation. It is also time to raise this layer of the temporary suspended life. There is great hope in the reorganization.

[Signed] A. Baranov, Kuybyshev Oblast.

I have read the response in the journal to Tengiz Abuladze's film "Repentance."

For many young people, who for a long time have been thoughtfully protected from truth, films similar to "Repentance" are distant and incomprehensible, but here their fault is not that great. Has it not become habitual for many to avoid like fire all difficult questions, to protect oneself and one's tiny world from the slightest draft, to pretend that one believes, and not to believe in anything? The film is precisely about this and about the problem of truth and falsehood, including the falsehood "in salvation" and "in tranquility."

And still some people, including many young people, raise the question: "Why should we know about this, after all nothing can be done all over again?" It turns out that we want to know only that which is simple and pleasant, and do not wish to know about anything that is complex, tragic, and contradictory. Then history will indeed not teach anything. The question "Why should we know about this?" can be easily used to convince oneself that nothing should also be known about the present, that nothing can be changed in it as well. But it must

be known all the same. Otherwise it will turn out that grandchildren will fire at the innocent and defend the guilty, as it is being done by Tornike at the beginning of the film. Can there be anything more terrible than such ignorance? Ignorance of history does not exempt from responsibility before the future. Ignorance here costs too much.

[Signed] V. Pantin, 32d year, scientific associate, Moscow.

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CSO: 1800/678

JOURNALIST ON ROLE OF CURRENT AFFAIRS WRITERS

PM241331 Moscow TRUD in Russian 20 Jun 87 p 2

[Article by Zoriy Balayan under the rubric "Problems, Reflections": "The Holy of Holies"; according to a footnote, "The article is based on the author's speech at a plenum of the USSR Journalists Union Board"]

[Text] Among the journalists, publicists, and writers--all those who are called upon to make their contribution to the shaping of public opinion--we come across many who have been writing for a long time. Some for 10 years, others for 20 years, and yet others even for 50 years. And this is why I find it strange when, for example, people deliberating about the so-called recent past speak of today's boldness and yesterday's almost universal cowardice. There is no need to rummage through library archives and leaf through bound copies of old newspapers to find out who wrote what and about what in the so-called recent past. Our common aggregate memory is sound enough, and we know fairly well--we remember very well, actually--what was it we wrote and mainly what was it that we printed. Take PRAVDA for example. It printed a fair amount of controversial pieces even in the mid-seventies, the years of "stagnation." And it did set the tone for other publications. The country's leading newspaper reprinted a letter by eminent writer Fedor Abramov from a rayon newspaper. It reprinted it, disregarding the editorial self-esteem that is so well known to newspapermen. After all, Abramov's words published at that time hardly differed in terms of boldness and passion from all that is being published nowadays. There are many similar examples.

Government decisions were made taking into account material published by the press. Ministries or departments were being set up or disbanded. Laws were being reviewed. The journalists did not usurp a prosecutor's functions. But at least they did--as much as possible--shape the public opinion which has at all times been perceived as a great driving force among the people and within the state. I am convinced that it was by relying on the people's opinion that the party arrived at the April Plenum. After all, we are neither insensitive nor blind, and we sensed and perceived that by no means everything was running smoothly on the eve of that event. But realism gained the upper hand. And now we are talking about ways of renewal, about repentance, about cleansing, about winds of change, and--of course--about acceleration and restructuring....

But there is one problem, however. Now we are carried away by self-flagellation in case we slacken the pace, in case we repeat the mistakes of the past. More than 2 years have passed since the April Plenum. Not too long a period. But not too brief, either. But in many respects, we are still marking time. The press, radio, and television are still competing to see whose material will be more controversial, more scathing, more sensational. A race of sorts. At times even a goal in itself. I foresee a danger: Soon, very soon our readers will have had enough of all this. Only bread is a welcome element of daily diet. Several times daily. Therefore, writing must be as thorough as grain-growing and bread-making.

But let us switch from the figurative to our actual daily bread. There seems to be enough of it. We won't speak of either the measures of heroism that is needed to produce the bread, or of the golden price we pay to have enough of it. It is, however, true: Not by bread alone... You also need butter to spread on the chunk of bread. You also need meat, without which it is impossible to properly feed a family. Actually, no one has yet done away with Marx's formulation that daily life determines awareness. And it is this "daily life" that is not quite in order in our country. We must, of course, be optimists. It was, however, said a long time ago: There is nothing worse than a smug optimist. And that was said by Lenin. We cannot be optimists while losses of agricultural produce still stand at 20 and even 30 percent. Just think: It is as if almost one-third, and if we did away with the "almost," then clearly one-fourth of our country's cultivated territory did not belong to us. And we have been writing about this right through the last 15-20 years. Both before and after the April Plenum. Is anything changing? Slowly.

Just like in the past, 92 percent of the country's vineyards are sown to industrial grapes. This made some people's careers, won them the golden stars of heroes. The mind boggles: Only 8 percent of dessert--in other words edible--grapes are available for the population. Less than 1 kg per capita. And we are incapable of storing even these 8 percent. And yet we keep silent despite our knowledge of this outrage which verges on a crime. We keep silent even though three CPSU Central Committee resolutions dealing with the grape problems have been published since 17 May 1985.

Over the last 2 years or so we have repeatedly seen that readers are now no longer eager for extremely controversial trial reports or articles which only propagandize the right ideas. They are more perturbed by and concerned with the distortions of ideas. They are perfectly well aware that all the harm usually has its roots in the distortion of that holy of holies--the idea--under correct and tested slogans and words. There were too many decrepit elders, as old as the hills, in the management apparatus. Life gave birth to a precise idea: To "rejuvenate" the leadership, so to speak. And it appears that suddenly some people saw their chance to part ways, easily and without too much fuss, with the sexagenarians. And they are doing this under the pretext of struggle for restructuring, under the pretext of following "instructions from the top." This is not a matter of an old hand being the most reliable. It is rather a matter of someone in his thirties or forties

today proving to be simply unprepared for the test of power. I offer no prescriptions, but I can confidently say that we are not entitled to ignore this aspect of the problem.

It cannot be said that many questions have been successfully resolved by shaping that would seem to be the proper public opinion. For how many years on end have we been fighting the problem of anonymous letters, but the problem is still with us. Formerly we were told that anonymous letters offer a source of information. But now we know that anonymous letters are a sign of... dirty hands. And no matter how skillful a surgeon may be, for example, in performing an operation, if his hands are dirty the patient will die from postoperative infection. Surely we know that the existence of anonymous letters is not an indication of a state's strength. And yet, our state is not weak. Surely we know that anonymous letters do not and cannot supply correct information. So, for how long are we going to talk about this?! What are we afraid of? And why are we deceiving ourselves: Everyone hates this phenomenon, and yet it exists. It is, after all, quite simple to combat them. Don't read anonymous letters--and that is all. No one should read them. Neither in the provinces, nor in Moscow. As regards the talk that people are afraid of being persecuted for criticism and are therefore forced to write anonymous letters, this is a trite excuse and it is a sin to use it today. Once you destroy anonymous letters for the dirty weapons they are, you'll see how people will start making proper use of the proper weapon--openness.

We often hear that restructuring is apparently thriving in Moscow or, as people say, in the center, and that it--restructuring--has not yet even "spent a night" at local level. Just like publicity and democratism have not "spent a night." First, however, it must be admitted that the controversial material carried by the central press does not at all indicate that everything is in exemplary order in the center. Second, let us not deceive ourselves: We must speak honestly not about what is being written or not at local level, but about what is being published or not at local level. This topic was well covered recently by IZVESTIYA in its "Confessions by a Provincial Journalist." We need an effective law on the press and its draft must be submitted for broad discussion. A law that would enshrine both our right to be published by the press and a certain responsibility for each one of our words. It is not the editor, let alone the obkom first secretary, but I who should be responsible for my material in the press. I personally. The main point is that the fate of party work and principled work should be unambiguous: It ought to be published.

If, for example, there is a view gathering strength in society that our country at the present time ought not to have such a multiplicity of staff and non-staff people who check, monitor, and inspect, then this ought to be published and discussed. This situation is, in my view, absurd. Something else: Surely many people are aware that the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Departments, set up in 1937, today are largely out of touch with the essence, meaning, and spirit of the times? I am convinced that no service ought to be given rights, especially if the public is deprived of an opportunity to monitor its actions. For how much longer

will we combat economic mismanagement and embezzlement only with the help of sanctions rather than by introducing sensible economic machinery? Just think: How many trade workers and construction industry workers lie in jail in our country. Are we writing and are we publishing extensive article on this controversial subject, about a problem demanding an immediate solution?!

Being a physician, I have often covered the topic of medicine and health care in my books and current affairs writings. I would also like to say a few words here. The point is that this topic is one of the few that affects not just a section of the population, not individual strata of society, but our whole people. Each and every one. No one is indifferent toward it. Even "before" we wrote controversial articles, at times even more than controversial. But official statements at the highest level described the successes of our health care services as "the most this and the most that" in the world. They hid behind bombastic slogans like "Concern for Soviet people's health is one of the most important social tasks." This is what we said over the last 20 years, and meanwhile we were ranking 27th in the world in terms of infant mortality. It was in the last 2 decades that Soviet man's life expectancy declined. The Japanese today live an average 11 years longer than our people. According to existing data, up to 18 percent of our compatriots suffering from myocardial infarcts acquire them standing in our waiting lines which have, unfortunately, become a matter of routine. But do we know the social and moral damage that is involved. We ignore the fact that 32 percent of men reaching the age of 16 will not live to see the end of their so-called working life (the age of 60). A disturbing percentage, especially bearing in mind the fact that it is considerably lower in some countries.

There are many reasons behind this. We will, of course, cope with the main one--drunkenness and alcoholism--on which I have, by the way, been writing for some 20 years. Here we are no longer talking about any smug optimism, but about genuine optimism. Because by now we have achieved what is, perhaps, the most important: We have already eradicated children's alcoholism and have succeeded in making millions of young people aware of the substance of the problem we describe as "alcoholism and posterity." Thus, the foreseeable future will bring tangible results from the efforts so persistently made by the party.

There are, however, other causes of our misfortunes in the work on protecting people's health. One of them is the ecology. Whether some people like it or not, journalists and writers will fight for the purity of water and air. According to WHO data, up to 80 percent of all diseases stem from atmospheric and water pollution. I like the idea expressed by the new USSR Minister of Health Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chazov, whom I highly respect and whose name means so much to the public, the idea that only shortsighted people could build, for example, a rubber plant in Yerevan, and that only people lacking civic and political courage and wisdom could fail to move this plant outside the limits of the city with its 1 million inhabitants. Because our state needs primarily healthy people, and rubber and chlorine come second.

Back at the time of the first Russian revolution Lenin described current affairs writing as contemporary annals. A formula which is to the point and accurate in the Leninist fashion. And today we have the honor of being the recorders of the annals of restructuring. It is by our current affairs writings that the future will judge today's struggle not only against evil but also for good. We are responsible for the restructuring, for the successes and specific results of restructuring. Over the last few years we have often read sermons rather than getting down to work. We ignored the truth which asserted that patriotism is proved primarily by deeds rather than by words.

We even took upon ourselves the role of educators of the people. Even though "the people" is, in itself an exalted moral concept. And one must only learn from them. The people, by nature, are very similar to the sea which possesses the unique capacity of cleansing itself. No sooner is any dirt accumulated in the sea during the day, by the next morning everything is cast out on the shore. If not by the morning, then by the evening. But it will cast off the dirt without fail. This is what the sea is like. And this is what the people are like, the people whose, so to speak, miniature portrait must be imprinted on the soul of each and every one of us. And each and every one of us is now more acutely than ever aware of the great wisdom: "Whatever is done for the fatherland will be insufficient unless everything is done."

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CSO: 1800/752

WRITERS' RIGHT TO SEEK HISTORICAL TRUTH UPHELD

PM271701 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 14 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by Ivan Stadnyuk: "The Right to Seek the Truth"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The publication of the letter from driver I. Karasev "History Should Not Be Forgotten" and Academician A. Samsonov's reply "...But It Cannot Be Changed Either" (SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 24 May) aroused a wide response among readers. Many of them thanked Academician Samsonov for his article. The readers' letters contain human confessions from those people who experienced for themselves the tragic consequences of the cult of personality, commentaries from historians, and the opinions of people of different professions and ages. The readers, while sharing one position or another, support the newspaper's approach to the pages of our history which have remained in the shadows, and the frank, democratic discussion of acute problems. The editorial office has also received an "Open Letter" from the writer I. Stadnyuk to Academician A. Samsonov, which we publish today.

In your response to driver I. Karasev's letter you maintain that "the stern retribution and moral justice of the executions is also substantiated by I. Stadnyuk in Stalin's talk with B. M. Shaposhnikov," meaning my novel "War" ["Voyna"]. This is a serious charge, one that is quite unjust and has nothing in common either with what is written in my novel or with my personal attitude to the tragic fate which befell the command of the Western Front headed by Army General D. G. Pavlov in July 1941.

I, like you, think that it was unnecessary to resort to such an extreme measure of punishment for a large group of generals and officers who could, I am sure, even demoted in military rank, have been of considerable benefit during the war.

The presence in the novel "War" of D. G. Pavlov and his comrades in arms, and their tragic fate enable us to interpret for the reader in some measure the atmosphere of that period which was so difficult for our state. As regards the events themselves, in the main I did not digress in any way from the documents handed to me. They actually tried to charge D. G. Pavlov with collusion with the enemy; he courageously endured the interrogations, demonstrating the absurdity of such charges but at the same time acknowledging

"that on the threshold of war he as district commanding officer did not do many of the things he was obligated to do"--having in mind, for example, the fact that prior to the very commencement of the enemy's aggression all the district's antiaircraft artillery was assembled at a range to the east of Minsk, while the field artillery was in camps in the Minsk area; the delay in mustering sappers; the failure to move troops up to their deployment positions, and much else. But all the same D. G. Pavlov was forced to sign charges which were much more terrible even than those brought against him at the trial proceedings, and the interrogator who questioned him, apparently not believing them himself, added a footnote to the investigation protocol: Pavlov signed the inquiry protocol while not of sound mind.

As is well known, D. G. Pavlov and his comrades in arms were brought before a military tribunal on the proposal of [Lev Zakharovich] Mekhlis, who arrived in Kasnya 2 July 1941 and by decision of the new Western Front Military Council. Whether Mekhlis received this order from Stalin, I do not know. D. G. Pavlov was arrested 4 July 1941 in the hamlet of Dovsk by an operations group headed by A. N. Mikheyev, chief of the Red Army's counterintelligence directorate; the group included Mekhlis' adjutant and I. G. Goyko, captain of state security (now a colonel of the reserve, living in Odessa). I have written testimony from I. G. Goyko (he drew up the paper confiscating D. G. Pavlov's documents, weapon, medals, and so forth and recorded Pavlov's reaction to his arrest), and from Lieutenant General A. Ya. Fominykh, first member of the front's Military Council, whom Mekhlis banished from the front's command point. These and other documents I have consulted in the past in various competent offices, including that of Colonel General of Justice A. G. Gornyy, the Soviet Army's chief military prosecutor.

But it is not even a question of the details. For it is necessary to be able to read a work of fiction; it is necessary to remember that each writer has the right to seek the truth. Is it possible that you, esteemed comrade academician, have not understood the position of the author of the novel "War" regarding D. G. Pavlov's fate if only from the following dialogue between Stalin and Shaposhnikov:

"...'Tell me, please, why I didn't see your signature along with those of Timoshenko, Mekhlis, Voroshilov, and Budennyi on the 7 July telegram to me about the arrest and bringing to trial of the former leaders of the Western Front?' Stalin asked.

"'When such a document is signed collectively, it means that each person individually has doubts about something...' Shaposhnikov replied.

"'And do you really doubt the correctness of this step?' Stalin asked.

"'No, I have no doubts. The tragedy of Generals Pavlov, [Vasiliy Yefimovich] Klimovskikh, Grigoriyev, Klych, and Korobkov... will fade against the background of the tragedies of the scores of thousands of people who died or were taken prisoner by the Germans.'

"'But the loss of territory, the destruction of our air force, the fascists' seizure of our depots?'--Stalin looked at the marshal with cold, frowning eyes.

And further:

"'But is it impossible to bring back into the army several talented people... redressed or removed, as I am convinced, through misunderstanding? They could now be commanding armies...' (These are Shaposhnikov's words.)

"'Name the former military men whom you can vouch for...'

"'I could vouch for those people and for people as I knew them before their arrest,' Boris Mikhaylovich replied with involuntary alienation."

From this dialogue is it really impossible to understand the inner state of Marshal Shaposhnikov, who was on his own with all the Politburo members? As regards the formulation of the charge brought against D. G. Pavlov at the investigation, I quoted him accurately from the document and even used quotation marks.

I myself believe that Army General D. G. Pavlov, while an excellent tank unit commander (he proved this in Spain and in the Finnish war), was still not ready, in terms of the depth of essential knowledge, to head a major military district, and then the front, and was not equal to the tasks entrusted to him.

As regards Mekhlis as a political figure, he was free in his judgments. It will also be unjust to treat him in a simplistic fashion.

I received many thousands of responses to the novel "War," which was awarded the USSR State Prize in 1983 and which has been published many times in our country and abroad. I also encountered critical comments amongst these replies. But an accusation like the one you have brought against me, comrade academician, I have never encountered. Furthermore, my first novel "People Are Not Angels" ["Lyudi ne angely"] was published back in 1962; in it I condemned quite categorically to the extent of my powers the groundless repressions and also the extremes and errors perpetrated during collectivization and dekulakization. In writing the novel I based myself on the fact that in my native village of Kordyshivka on the Vinnichina, every eighth peasant was subjected to repression, including many of my relatives, for which I was expelled in 1938 from the Krasnodar Infantry College. Would I support repressions and executions?... Moreover, in the first book of the novel "War" I wrote a chapter in which, on the basis of a story current at the time, I endeavored to describe how fascist intelligence, having unmasked a Czech agent in their ranks, palmed him off with fabricated documents about an alleged plot in the Red Army Supreme Command. A document apparently reached Moscow via Prague and was used as a pretext for arrests... On publication (I still have the galley proofs) the chapter was deleted, and I was given the explanation: "This is all bluff." But, comrade academician, after your appearance in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA I do not know what is true and

what is false. Now that the time of openness is upon us it is necessary for the truth to prevail in everything, it is time to open the archives and give all writers the opportunity to find out who was who and to understand the interrelationship of the most diverse events.

I will further remark that in your response to driver I. Karasev's letter it is you that is trying to modify history and your former beliefs. For a start I will dwell on your judgments apropos the front-line war cry "For the Motherland, For Stalin!" Whether you like it or not, such a cry did exist throughout the war. In the border fighting and then at Yartsevo I, at that time a junior political instructor, also frequently went into bayonet attacks with precisely this war cry, not thinking, of course, that I was going to almost certain death in the name of one man only--Stalin. The motherland, the party, the people, Leninist ideas, the freedom of the native land--this is what resounded then in the Soviet soldiers' war cries. Pick up the front-line--yes, and the central--newspapers of the war period and you will be convinced of this. And it is quite "unscientific" to maintain, as you are doing, that "letters from the command to the widows of those who died also promoted the wide currency of the legend about the formula 'For the Motherland, For Stalin!'" The legend about the formula?! How are we to understand this? How is such nonsense to be perceived by a people who have still not shed all their tears for their heavy losses in the war? For me personally your words ring with blasphemy with regard to the millions who died in the fighting for the motherland--and, I am sure, not only for me, particularly since in your pamphlet "At the Walls of Stalingrad" ["U sten Stalingrada" (Military Publishing House, 1952) you also wrote (I quote) that "all the diversity of agitation and propaganda work was subordinated" to the struggle on the Volga. "'Forward for the Motherland and Stalin!'"--these slogans were posted up in dugouts and printed in leaflets" (p 43).

In response to driver I. Karasev you write: "...It is incorrect to link all the successes achieved by the party and people with the name of Stalin, ascribing to him the qualities of a 'brilliant leader of the peoples,' a 'great military leader.' In my belief," you continue, "Stalin was neither a brilliant leader nor a great military commander..."

Allow me to doubt your beliefs. In the aforementioned pamphlet you yourself wrote on page 107: "During this engagement the Soviet Army led by the brilliant commander and great leader I. V. Stalin displayed high morale and combat qualities."

In the journal VOPROSY ISTORII No 5 for 1950 you maintained: "I. V. Stalin, leading the Soviet people's armed struggle against fascism, ensured the enemy's defeat at Stalingrad by his wise and firm leadership"... In this battle--you go on to maintain--"The indestructible might of the USSR Armed Forces, the superiority of Stalinist military science and military art, and I. V. Stalin's genius as a commander were revealed." And further: "In the course of this engagement the Soviet Army headed by I. V. Stalin, brilliant commander and great leader, displayed..." And so on.

All your "scientific" works of the past are full of these and similar assertions right up to the pamphlet "The Defeat of the Wehrmacht at Moscow" ["Porazheniye vermakhta pod Moskvoy"] published in 1981 by Moskovskiy Rabochiy.

After all this how can you call your activity "scientific," and is it compatible with the high rank of academician? And how are we, in the light of your present evaluations of Stalin, to relate to his military-professional and political qualities as demonstrated during the Patriotic War and which have been written about in many books of memoirs, including those by Zhukov, Vasilyevskiy, Meretskov, Shtemenko, Kuznetsov, Shakhurin, and many others, and also by foreign figures--W. Churchill, Harry Hopkins, Harriman, for example...

When reading these books I do not forget the party's well known decisions rightly condemning Stalin's cult of personality, and I am guided by them; but history, like you, I do not alter. For history is formed from the entire life of the people, past and present, and to do violence to it, to correct it, or to close one's eyes to its unforgettable pages will benefit no one.

I will allow myself to conclude this letter with an extract from my novel "War," which expressed and still expresses the essence of my pain:

"It was a difficult time... The gaze of annalists, philosophers, eloquent men of letters on all continents will often turn to it. Among them there will also be those people who permit themselves to judge the events of those days without due understanding of their complex tragic character and to examine them from positions of philosophico-historical Daltonism. While others, bashfully, forgetting their former beliefs and public affirmations, will begin to seek the pendulum of the 'new' time, and the squeaking of the weather vane on someone else's roof will frequently be taken for the voice of truth. Given definite guarantees of their own security, and when fear for their own well-being does not trouble their hearts, these people are quick to the first word and the questionable action. They will zealously begin to strike sparks from the wheel of history with their own pens and pass them off as rays of truth...

"But, to history's great good fortune, those forces which defend the truth are invincible."

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CSO: 1800/751

HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY

LETTER CALLS FOR CURB ON ATTACKS ON 1930'S

PM280951 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 87 Second Edition p 3

[Letter from N. Sinyakov, CPSU member and war and labor veteran: "In the Name of Objectivity"]

[Text] Volgograd--Esteemed Comrade Chief Editor!

Over the past 2 years various newspapers and magazines have carried numerous articles which make an extremely negative assessment of the thirties. The authors of these articles see nothing but the cult of personality at that time. And yet the foundations of our country's economic might (the 5-year plans, collectivization) were laid during those years, and the army was strengthened. We people of the older generation well remember those years, we remember the enthusiasm which reigned in society. What was created during that time and faith in our rightness and our future helped us to win victory in the cruel war and to defend our system. What happened happened, but there were more good things, you know. So why lump everything together and pour mud over it! For we are not "Ivans of unknown ancestry"!

I appeal to you as chairman of the Union of Journalists and editor of our party's central organ. It is probably necessary to restrain certain writers from deliberate hostile criticism of our history, because all this gives rise to a negative assessment of our policy in a certain (very small) category of people.

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CSO: 1800/751

PAPER RECALLS SHOLOKHOV'S ENCOUNTER WITH STALIN

PM290744 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 23 May 87 p 6

[Article by Valentin Osipov: "Testament: On the Publication of a New Collection of Works by M. A. Sholokhov"]

[Excerpts] The truth of history... Sholokhov fought for it, not permitting himself voluntarily to concede or retreat. The new collection of works enables us to learn, for instance, probably for the first time at first hand, from the author himself, how "And Quiet Flows the Don" came to see the light of day. In spite of many people. Thanks only to a few, in the first instance. And as a result of the writer's own belief that he was right. The volume includes eight letters to A. Serafimovich, M. Gorkiy, and A. Fadeyev. You read about difficult times there. You hear echoes of the fear felt by publishers in the early thirties at the idea of publishing an unusual novel--the RAPW [Russian Association of Proletarian Writers] weighed heavily, with their vulgarizing interpretation of the author's intention: Even Fadeyev, editor of the journal OKTYABR, trembled, I learn. The glimpses of the cruel persecution by the Trotskiyists could not excuse the exposure of the policy of "de-Cossackization" which prompted the uprising; the RAPW supporters could not stomach Sholokhov. He had to explain--to explain a great deal--to Stalin.

The writer once confided in the author of these lines his own story of how the meeting went, with Gorkiy's help, with the man on whom the novel's fate depended--depended entirely, at that time. Here is my record of his reminiscences: "We sat at the desk. Gorkiy more and more often fell silent, smoked, and struck matches over the ashtray. He burned a whole pile of matches during the conversation.

"Stalin asked me a question: 'Why did I describe General Kornilov so mildly?'

"I replied that I had not softened anything in portraying Kornilov's deeds. But I had indeed represented certain manners and arguments in accordance with my understanding of the nature of this man, who was raised in the officer's code of honor and had shown courage in the German war, and who subjectively loved Russia.

"Stalin exclaimed: 'What do you mean--honor?! He marched against the people! A forest of gallows and a sea of blood!'

"I must say that this naked truth convinced me. I later revised the manuscript.

"Stalin asked another question: 'Where did I get the information about the excesses of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Don Bureau and the Revolutionary Military Council of the South Front with regard to the Cossack peasant of average means [serednyak]?'"

"I said that the novel describes the Trotskiyists' tyranny in strictly documentary terms--on the basis of archive material.

"At the end of the meeting Stalin declared: 'Some people think the third volume of the novel will give much pleasure to those of our enemies, the White Guards, who have emigrated.' And he asked me and Gorkiy: 'What do you have to say about that?' Gorkiy replied: 'They could misrepresent anything, however good and positive, in order to turn it against Soviet power.' I too replied: 'There is not much good in the novel for the White Guards. After all, I show their total defeat on the Don and the Kuban...' Stalin then said: 'Yes, I agree. The depiction of the course of events in the third book of 'And Quiet Flows the Don' works for us, for the revolution.' In conclusion he said: 'We will print "And Quiet Flows the Don"/'"

I will add that I found in I. V. Stalin's works (volume 12) the sequel to Sholokhov's story--evidence of how Stalin, even when the novel came out, remained displeased with the topic of "de-Cossackization." In 1929 he expressed this view: "...In his 'And Quiet Flows the Don' Comrade Sholokhov has perpetrated a number of gross errors and downright false information about Syrtsov, Podtelkov, Krivosheynov, and others." (Imagine how hard it was on Sholokhov to read that, at least before 1953?!) True, Stalin added: "But does it follow from this that 'And Quiet Flows the Don' is worthless and deserves to be removed from sale?" And he even deemed it necessary to write this about Sholokhov: "A remarkable writer of our time..."

All these various interpretations did not fail to make their mark. After the publication of the next volume in the journal in 1932, Divisional Commander Mironov and the black name of Trotskiy were left out of the scenes depicting the uprising for a long time. The final restoration came 50 years later. I have read the decisive order, which, it is true, is reminiscent of Nabulnov [Trotskiyist character in Sholokhov] in its officiousness: "To M. M. Manokhina, editor of collected works--put it back. M. Sholokhov, 11 April 1982."

That is how difficult and complex everything was for the young writer. But he was not broken. He did not falter. He sought supporters. I read in a letter for 3 October 1929 that he planned to submit a request for admission to the party--to the Veshenskiy party cell. In the same volume we find his famous 1975 speech, in which he told his fellow countrymen: "The region's communists are a people who are close to my own people. I shared with them the joys and trials of the difficult forties, with them I grew and matured as a communist,

I learned from them and helped them to acquire the riches of our country's culture. In a word, the link is close and long: 45 years is a long time."

...The epoch-making, epic nature of the great writer's creative work was not by any means, as is well known, an indication of alienation from the topics of the day. In the rapid cardiogram of events the most acutely alarming peaks are drawn, in significant numbers, by Sholokhov's hand--he did not waste time shooting at sparrows. There is plenty of evidence of this. Let us recall his fearless appeal to Moscow in the early thirties--hunger was marching on the Don. Let us recall "Virgin Soil Upturned"--a severe verdict is pronounced on the excesses in the course of collectivization. In the collection of works we find the 1934 article "For Honest Work by Writer and Critic"--a contribution to the keen debate about the fate of Soviet literature. In 1960 he raised his voice against socialist pledges which are adopted purely for show. And how, without respect for persons, he fired salvos at point-blank range with his armor-piercing sarcasm in speeches at party congresses, which he filled not with generalizations, but with burning concern for urgent matters. The state of affairs in literature at the 20th and 22d congresses; the protection of Baykal, the Azov Sea, and the Don, and bureaucracy at the 23d; book publishing at the 24th. Or his appeal to the writers of the world in 1983. Here, clearly foreseeing the need, the inevitability of a new way of thinking in the nuclear age, he declared: "Let us defend life before it is too late!... It is a question of the very existence of the human race and its cradle, the earth..."

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# FALSE PATRIOTS PERCEIVED IN PAMYAT SOCIETY

PM231205 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 18 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by Andrey Cherkizov: "On Genuine Values and Imaginary Enemies"-- words within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Articles about so-called historical-patriotic societies have been appearing increasingly often in the press recently.

"Pamyat" [Memory] in Moscow and Novosibirsk, "Otechestvo" [Fatherland] in Sverdlovsk, "Spaseniye" [Salvation] in Leningrad...

The informal and spontaneous nature of these societies has attracted numerous honest people who are deeply concerned with the fate of our culture and with organizing the restoration and utilization of ancient monuments. They are obviously prepared to do any useful work for the sake of improving the situation, but it comes to light increasingly often that small groups of clamorous "leaders" have developed within these societies, importunately and stubbornly trying to divert their audience from specific deeds into the sphere of empty discussions and harmful confrontations.

Outspoken extremists, demagogues, and "theoreticians" preaching views that are far distant not only from historical science but also from the ideas of internationalism and socialism attach themselves to the patriotic movement, and are often in a hurry to "head" this movement.

Following the publication of my article "Democracy Does Not Mean Dissoluteness" (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 31 March 1987), I received a letter from Novosibirsk, signed by A. Chvalyuk, leading designer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department's Specialized Design Bureau and, as it was later revealed, one of "Pamyat's" main speakers. He writes as follows (I beg the readers' pardon for the extensive quotation, but I would like to convey the letter writer's viewpoint with utmost objectivity): "Reflecting on our revolution and on proletarian internationalism and socialism, A. Cherkizov has safely bypassed such concepts as /motherland/ and /fatherland/ (emphasis in the letter--A. Ch.).

"...The internationalism of people like Cherkizov reeks rather strongly of cosmopolitanism when it becomes a matter of indifference whether the driving

force of the October Revolution was the Russian [russkiy] working class headed by the intelligentsia of Russian nationality or the working class of, for example, Azerbaijan and Georgia headed by the Jewish intelligentsia. After all, in order to gain complete understanding of what has been happening in our country from the time of the revolution through today, it is necessary to have a very clear idea of which forces, which social strata, and which nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups created the prerequisites for revolution. Science today lacks complete knowledge and understanding."

Excuse me, Aleksandr Yakovlevich, for having to explain some rudimentary points to you--to explain them from Marxist-Leninist positions. As far as I am concerned, only this great philosophical teaching is convincing and conclusive. If you take the forces and strata which created prerequisites for the socialist revolution to mean classes, then this question has been thoroughly studied by Marxism. The October Revolution's driving force was the multinational proletariat of Russia [rossiyskiy] (please note: Lenin always said "of Russia" rather than "Russian") headed by the Bolshevik party which aimed for and achieved the cohesion of "workers of /all/ nationalities in /all/ workers organizations, be they vocational, cooperative, consumer, educational, or any other sort, in counterbalance to all kinds of bourgeois nationalism. Only such unity and fusion can uphold democracy, uphold the interests of workers against capital--which already is and is becoming increasingly international, uphold the interests of mankind's development in the direction of the new way of life which is alien to all sorts of privilege and all sorts of exploitation" (V. I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, Vol 24, p 119).

If you or anyone else choose to scrupulously analyze the national structure of the Bolshevik party and to draw distinctions between Russian workers and Azerbaijani, Georgian, or Jewish workers, this is a matter of your own conscience.

But now I would like to speak in somewhat greater detail about Novosibirsk's "Pamyat." Especially since there are good reasons to do so.

Following certain events organized by the society, the Sovetskiy CPSU Raykom Bureau, the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department's Presidium, and the "Akademiya" House of Culture Board passed resolutions which revealed that, in parallel with its positive aspects, "the activity of 'Pamyat,' individual members of its board, and other members of the society's aktiv acquired a broad scandalous nature to the point where attempts were made to supplant Soviet organs and other organizations," and these resolutions suspended the work of the "Pamyat" Historical-Patriotic Society until its reorganization.

And that, if truth be told, was the start of, let's say, "democratic" games. "Pamyat's" leadership did not agree that the "Akademiya" House of Culture Board had been the society's founder: We, they said, lead our own existence in the Academic City, not subordinate to anybody. And an enlarged session of the board adopted an "Open Letter" against the appointment of a major scientist, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, as director

of an institute that had only just been set up in the Altay. (The man in question asked me not to mention his name.) As if it were not enough that the letter had been unanimously adopted by what was in effect a nonexistent body, it was actually swollen further by a large number of signatures. True enough, a careful reading showed that many names had been repeated, but this detail seems to be a typical feature of "Pamyat's" style.

Someone has said that anonymous letters are a genre of written philology. It can also be said that the "open letter" in question was a typical form of denunciation, and not a single fact was confirmed when it was investigated--neither those regarding the scientist's scientific credentials nor the hints about his family ties with a USSR minister. When a commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department's presidium met people who had signed the letter and asked them to explain the motives which drove them, it heard the following replies: "We have no detailed information at hand, but we do not trust him"; "Let them show us documents proving that we are wrong. Some people say one thing, others say another. Who is to be believed?"

A curious situation develops: No proof at all is needed in order to insult and slander an honest scientist, former frontline fighter, and Communist of more than 40 years' standing. As a result, dozens of extremely busy people have to be distracted from their work in order to clear the name of a totally innocent person of slander, dirt, and disgusting suspicions. How can this be allowed to happen?! And should it be allowed to happen?... Unfortunately, this seems to be a tradition with the "Pamyat" Historical-Patriotic Society, and a typical tradition at that. All through last fall, "Pamyat" member Engineer A. Kazantsev delivered lectures, including lectures to university students, in which he accused a whole series of leading scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department and several party and Soviet officials of being... secret accomplices of Masons and Zionists. While in Sverdlovsk the aforementioned [as published] D. Vasilyev used the words Zionist accomplice to describe... Academician Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev (see VECHERNIY SVERDLOVSK of 18 April 1987). That very same speaker accused painter I. Glazunov of being an accomplice of... Masons.

I still hope that the majority of the "Pamyat" Society's members are rational people and capable of making their own assessment of such provocative sentences. But meanwhile both A. Kazantsev and D. Vasilyev not only still belong to the historical-patriotic societies in question, but also consider themselves members of their aktivs.

Recently expelled from the party, A. Kazantsev has not calmed down. He has switched from verbal to written propaganda of his erroneous views: He has made a computer printout of his "manuscript." And he is once again spreading national enmity, substituting the religious for the national, and the political for the religious. And he is once again proclaiming that our country is held hostage "by a Zionist-Masonic Fifth Column." Meanwhile, D. Vasilyev in Sverdlovsk is issuing literally hysterical calls for... virtually a civil war: "Tear to pieces (the enemies of the people--A. Ch.) and throw

them out!" and is threatening that "we'll grind to dust anyone who stands in our way."

One cannot but be alarmed by the desire of informal societies like "Spaseniye" in Leningrad to set themselves against all public organizations. Here is what VECHERNIY LENINGRAD wrote on 4 May: "A. Kovalev, leader of the 'Spaseniye' group, told the meeting that if the Komsomol were to join any organization 'the "council" would immediately resign from that organization,' while M. Talalay, another member of the aktiv, refused to join the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments. So, what is it that enthusiasts like those want? To gather the people in the streets, make rousing speeches, go into hysterics, and seek conspirators everywhere?"

A few days ago VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA wrote about someone by the name of V. Yemelyanov, former lecturer and an active member of "Pamyat." It was this current "champion of sobriety" who had earlier been reprimanded by the party for unethical behavior and for appearing in public places while in an unsober state. It was this man, now reflecting on the grandeur of the Russian soul, who committed a savage murder--he hacked his wife to death and escaped punishment only as a result of the conclusion by a commission of forensic medicine experts. It was his--if I might use the expression--"work" that was published by a Paris publishing house which wished to remain anonymous. The book "De-Zionisation" [Desionizatsiya]--a typical example of ignorance and obscurantism--is imbued with the very same ideas of conspiracy, and calls for a crusade against "Masons and Zionists."

Is this the sort of people who instruct others in patriotism?

Western radio voices obviously had good reason for hastening to encourage the "leaders of informal organizations" with sympathetic praise. Unfortunately, this failed to alert anyone. Evidently, not a single one of them asked the natural question: What path have I taken if the political enemy is praising me, what mistakes have I committed?

In this context, one cannot fail to be amazed by the behavior of Kim Andreyev, a Communist and the chairman of Moscow's "Pamyat," who accepted the role of obliging adjutant under the demagogue and adventurer Vasilyev. Indeed, why did not anyone try to find out the source of the funds used to finance the expensive travel around the country by this self-styled "leader" and other emissaries who have not worked anywhere for a long time now. Find out who offers them prestigious halls in Moscow and Sverdlovsk and why, or what were the criteria followed by some journalists who sympathetically cover these guest appearances and other events.

After all, these meetings are attended by members of both the party and the Komsomol. It would be interesting to find out what makes their party-mindedness and principledness disappear while they listen to provocative speeches by inveterate demagogues, speeches with obviously hostile content?

But why do the Communists and Komsomol members not rebuff those hysterics? Why is it, finally, that the party organizations in institutions and enterprises where some "Pamyat" leaders work shut their eyes to this type of "public" activity? Finally, why is it that party raykoms do not carry out the proper work among members of these societies, why is it that some party officials are in a state of total confusion in the face of this new public movement and are incapable of analyzing its activity from class positions so as to launch, at long last, both explanatory and educational work?

D. Polyakov, one of the initiators of "Pamyat" in Novosibirsk, gave me a list of events organized by the society in the last 2 years. Not a single specific action! Incessant discussions, deliberations, and lectures. A fast-flowing torrent of words which, incidentally, for some reason skillfully bypasses revolutionary topics, socialist history, and ideology.

Reasonable people take different positions. Yes, it is necessary to discuss the past and resent of our culture, just as it is necessary to analyze projects of public interest, compare alternative options, and submit other suggestions. But in the name of the one and truly great goal--for the sake of the strengthening of socialism. It is to this goal that many enthusiastic supporters of our own culture devote their works. Enthusiasts in the capital devoted much energy to the creation of the Decembrists Museum, and their initiative was backed and approved by the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

And now about something that cannot fail to cause perplexity. I have in mind the excessive concern shown by a certain part of the society's members over the alleged existence of some kind of "Zionist-Masonic conspiracy" in our country. It appears that the list of guests and favorite lecturers of "Pamyat" in Novosibirsk and, as it became clear, in Moscow later on, included Ye. Yevsenko, V. Begun, and A. Romanenko--authors of articles and books propagandizing the "conspiracy" concept and abounding with a large quantity of all sorts of erroneous stipulations and inaccuracies, making it possible to assess their works as antiscientific and essentially misleading the readers (for example, as regards A. Romanenko's book "On the Class Essence of Zionism" [O Klassovoy Sushchnosti Sionizma], see the article "On Certain Questions of the Historiography of Proletarian Internationalism" by L. Dadiani, S. Mokshin, and E. Tadevosyan in the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, Issue No 1, 1987). V. Begun's book "Creeping Counterrevolution" [Polzuchaya Kontrevolyutsiya] was reprinted virtually in full in 1975 by the London Institute of Jewish Problems Under the World Jewish Congress in its official publication. Does this not show that the work in question proved to be to the West's advantage?

Let us try to investigate the "Masonic" aspect. In reply to my previous article, someone from Riga using the pseudonym P. Vasilyev says: "What I would like to say is that society is threatened not by openness... but by the destructive work of Masons: Befuddling the people, destroying Moscow's historical sites, duping young people with 'mass culture,' castrating our history, making our national heroes look like fools, slandering out language, and trying to deprive us of culture and turn us into petty bourgeois cattle" (the letter writer's style and orthography have been retained--A. Ch.).

And so, once again the old and grating slogan that the modern world is allegedly ruled by Masons and Zionists. They are the secret and numerous enemies of the fatherland, they are the ones weaving a satanic conspiracy beneath the cover of equally satanic "rock music." Matters are even approaching the ridiculous: The two crossed roses on the cover of the journal YUNOST represent the secret sign of "Rosicrucians," while 21 is the number assigned to someone condemned to death by Masons.... The only thing left to do is impose order in arithmetic.

Matters are even going as far as sacrilege: The hammer and sickle and the 5-point star are declared to be Masonic symbols!

The advocates of the existence of the danger of "Zionist-Masonic conspiracy" in our country also offer the following logical series: The Masons represent a universal evil; Novikov and the Decembrists were Masons; the title of A. Gertsen's first journal, POLYARNAYA ZVEZDA, also stems from Masonic tradition as does, by the way, the title of Lenin's ISKRA. But we all know that Nikolay Novikov was one of the brilliant philosophers in the Enlightenment of Russia, while the Decembrists were the first revolutionaries in our country who "aroused Gertsen." Who needs this substitution of concepts and why? What are we dealing with here: Ignorance or a set goal? Even if it were ignorance, everything would still be clear. Calculating on ignorance indicates the existence of a goal. But really, is this not a strange goal: To so inobtrusively equate Masons and revolutionaries?...

The importunate attempts by certain excessively zealous agitators from "Pamyat" bring into circulation terms which would provide the codeword for arousing universal suspicion and hostility, and constitute speculation aimed at slowing down the restructuring under way in society. Restructuring demands the consolidation of all forces to solve the common tasks facing the Soviet people. Consolidation, and not opposition and even confrontation between different groups.

And the main point, to repeat, is that restructuring demands deeds, creative work, and genuine endeavor. There have been and there still are people in the fatherland who understand this. People like pensioner Yekaterina Petrovna Vasilyeva and seventh grade school pupil Petya Polishchuk, engineer Irina Ivanova and history teacher Pavel Burov, student Zhenya Bogolyubova and worker Sergey Korablev. It is their noble hands that are restoring monuments of history and culture in the capital. The demagoguery of "Pamyat's" leaders is alien to them, and they feel affinity with the love for the motherland which demands actions and deeds from people rather than the whipping up of base passions and the spreading of slanderous fabrications.

He who seeks Masons and Zionists everywhere is no patriot. A patriot is someone who aims, through his specific personal labor, to accelerate the motherland's socioeconomic development, who is not afraid to take risks, who displays initiative and businesslike enterprise in the interests of society as a whole and of the fatherland, whose deeds turn him into a "maker [prorab] of restructuring." Patriots are the firefighters at Chernobyl AES and those

whose valiant labor tamed the reactor that had slipped its harness. The nameless people in their thousands who gave as much help as they could to Georgia's population which this year experienced the full brunt of natural calamities. The young people in their dozens who are giving up their free time to go to hospitals and visit the internationalist servicemen wounded in fighting in Afghanistan.

But those of whom we are talking now with such alarm are unwilling to work for the fatherland's good. They try to achieve something else: Striving to substitute false patriotism for genuine patriotism and to spread indifference and even mistrust in the efforts by state and public organizations which have headed and are guiding the process of our society's democratic reorganization [pereustroystvo].

M. S. Gorbachev put it very accurately in his speech at the 20th Komsomol Congress: "...a patriot is not someone who speaks wonderful words of love for the motherland, but someone who, having perceived the difficulties and unsolved problems, does not moan, does not panic, does not make a fuss about his selfish claims, but rolls up his sleeves and surmounts the obstacles. He is a patriot. And a genuine patriot, comrades, is without fail an internationalist.... It is literally through suffering that we have arrived at the perception of patriotism as implacable rejection of nationalism, chauvinism, and racism."

It is in this light that we assess our genuine values and perceive those who try to hinder restructuring by diverting some people from conscientious work.

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## LITERARY CRITICS DISCUSS CONTEMPORARY CRITICISM

OW250043 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0205 GMT on 16 May 1987 carries the scheduled 75-minute "Dialogues on Literature" program hosted by literary critic Feliks Fedoseyevich Kuznetsov. Video shows a group of five men sitting on a raised platform facing an audience. Kuznetsov introduces the participants as Igor Petrovich Zolotusskiy, Vladimir Ivanovich Gusev, Emil Vladimirovich Kardin, and Aleksandr Mikhaylov. Kuznetsov then says: "You know that during the eighth congress of writers, literary criticism found itself at the center of the most lively discussion. I think that discussion of criticism at the eighth congress was a discussion of the state affairs in literature itself and its ailments. Writers who heatedly convicted criticism apparently forgot the paraphrased well-known formula that every literature gets the criticism that it deserves and can sustain."

"But just as literature must sustain the test of criticism, so too criticism must sustain the test of literature. How does contemporary literary criticism sustain today's tests?" He then solicits questions from the audience. Video shows a young lady identifying herself as Katya Kontur, a student of the Moscow State University's philology faculty, who asks the panel why they chose the profession of literary critic "and what do you think is the main reason for the troubles in this sphere of literature."

Kuznetsov asks Zolotusskiy to respond. He says that "as far as the state of contemporary criticism is concerned, it seems to me that we need not be embarrassed about real, genuine, and talented criticism in our country. It is another matter that this kind of criticism has disappeared from the pages of the periodic press, from the pages of magazines and newspapers. It has been overshadowed by a servile and service criticism that many writers who spoke at the congress and complained that we do not have criticism have adopted as real criticism. Now Feliks Fedoseyevich has said that literature gets the criticism it deserves. So our criticism retreated from modern literature and turned its attention to the classics, where in recent years it found its spiritual sustenance. It is now returning to contemporary literature and I think we will be seeing its work."

The microphone is turned over to Kardin who says: "I simply consider that we can talk about restructuring of the publishing business, about a restructuring within the writers union, about changing various very serious disproportions

existing, in my opinion, in the literary publishing business, but I personally have not observed anything that could attest to restructuring in even a single somewhat serious prose writer, poet, or critic. And I am not expecting this." He adds that as far as timeserving literary people are concerned it is not even worth talking about them as this would be a waste of time.

A man wearing the uniform of a navy captain first rank in the audience says that the last congress spoke specifically about the subservience of literary critics to a number of authors. Particularly, a dozen or so "safe" authors. Kuznetsov rises in defense of the literary critics saying that the whole profession cannot be condemned because of a lack of courage on the part of some.

Mikhaylov interrupts: "You must understand that even such an author, whom I deeply respect and about whom, by the way, Igor Zolotusskiy recently wrote a very good book--I am speaking about Fedor Aleksandrovich Abramov, who knew how to tell the truth, and the harsh truth at that--nevertheless said of himself that he had not told the whole truth. Therefore, to some extent, each one of us has to bear some responsibility for literary criticism as a whole." He goes on to say that "the really talented critics used to retreat to the classics. No doubt, the classics require study at all times. But is this not a formula of escape from a difficult situation, an escape from the struggle, if you will? There is also the formula of keeping silent in criticism. And this, from a moral point of view, is also not blameless." He says: "I think all of us who are not so young anymore, are to some extent accountable. If we did not take part in writing complementary articles and reviews, did not sing praises to the skies, neither did we oppose this."

Gusev interrupts: "Obviously there are two sides to the story. On one side there is the lack of courage and of conscientiousness of the critics themselves. On the other hand, the situation in our journals and in our press as a whole, which, during certain years... [changes thought] well the critic has to be published. Besides he is published by editors, and one publication has several editors. Therefore all these factors acted on each other to produce this situation."

Kardin continues the discussion, saying that the most striking change that has taken place recently is a change in the concept and perception of responsibilities. Previously, there was a tendency to be accountable to the collective, brigade, or some other such body. Now the emphasis has shifted to an individual's personal responsibility to himself. He goes on to say: "When all are guilty, no one is guilty. When all are responsible, no one is responsible. I am not a physicist and will not debate the conclusions of the government commission on Chernobyl. But I am convinced that a decisive role in it can be traced to the absence of personal responsibility of each individual there. If we were to think about the source of all the negative occurrences, or those we consider to be negative, we would see that there is an element of responsibility that falls on all of us."

Kardin continues: "I am not satisfied with Mikhaylov's statement blaming all critics. How can you blame a critic who has been banned from literary criticism for 10 years? They stopped writing because they did not have the opportunity to write. Not because they gave up. If they could have, they would have written something. If need be I could name some of those critics. But it is not the names that matter. They were connected with NOVYY MIR, Tvardovskiy published them. And they, at the start, did very well. For example Yuriy Burtin and Igor Vinogradov in effect have not written anything at all for 10-15 years. Can we speak in terms of their guilt? I see no reason for this. But there are critics whose personal guilt we ought to be speaking about. Not because we wish to get even. That is not the case at all." Kardin goes on to say that LITERATURNAYA GAZETA is quick to speak about restructuring in all kinds of spheres, but when it comes to literature, it has made little or no progress.

An unidentified young man asks why the critics ignore the so-called metaphorists, particularly the works of (Parshchekov) and Yeremenko. Kuznetsov in reply reads a poem by (Parshchekov) and says that it is unfortunate that these two poets have attracted much more attention than they deserve because their works do not correspond to the best traditions of Russian literature. Mikhaylov points out that both the named poets were in the past his students and that he did publish their works. He also agrees that both poets attracted a great deal of controversy, focusing on their lives rather than their works. Mikhaylov goes on to say that while he has the floor he wants to address the remarks of the previous speaker, Kardin. He says: "The question of personal responsibility is something from the ideological weaponry of years gone by. It reeks of something frightening."

A young woman from the audience says that recently it has been announced that a number of authors whose works previously were not sanctioned by the government will soon be published. These include such authors as Pasternak and Nabokov. Is contemporary Soviet literary criticism ready to meet this task? Zolotusskiy says that this was an expected question and that there are indications that Soviet criticism is not quite up to the task. As an example, he points out that until now there has been little or no discussion of the forthcoming publication of Nabokov.

Afanasyev, a student at Moscow University, asks for critics' opinion of the works dealing with the antipersonality cult themes. Gusev says: "This is still one of the most painful social questions of our country. But this question is now being discussed openly [otkryto] and this fact triggers positive emotions on my part. Nor can it be otherwise."

Kardin is asked to comment on the Bek novel which was recently released after being banned for over 20 years. The novel deals with morality and competence. The antihero of the novel is Anisimov. The two qualities at times are in conflict. For example, at one point Anisimov supports an engineer whose decision is blatantly wrong because the man is well connected and has the support of Stalin and Beria. On the other hand, Anisimov does not support the decision of another engineer because the engineer has no supporters. In both

cases Anisimov knows the value of one and the worthlessness of the other. Kardin goes on to say: "Anisimov was retired in the fifties. But what of the heritage left by Anisimov and his colleagues. Are we not now dealing with the inherited results of this leadership? The Bek novel has a repetitive theme--the theme of Anisimov's fear of Stalin and Beria; a fear that broke him, that made him a traitor to Ordzhonikidze. But there is also one more thing to recall--how the people who gathered at the airport experienced fear of the people, the people that they never knew."

A discussion on the difficulty of determining the genre of certain writers ensues, with Zolotusskiy defending his initial reaction to Astafyev's novel "The Sad Detective," followed by Zolotusskiy speaking about his recollection of F. A. Abramov. Zolotusskiy notes that he finds the treatment of the process of transition of the Russian peasant to that of an urban worker in Abramov's works particularly interesting and moving.

After several more questions from the audience, a woman asks: "Is there at present an ideological struggle in literature"? Zolotusskiy replies: "Undoubtedly one is taking place and it would be quite dishonest to say that it does not exist. And this is good. Different points of view exist, different approaches and not just concerning individual books." He goes on to describe a recent article reviewing Belov's "All is in Front of Us," a book that he enjoyed a great deal. The article lauds the work but, in the opinion of Zolotusskiy, for all the wrong reasons. Not because it is a good novel, but because MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, the journal in which the article was published, expresses the ideological position of a certain group. Moreover, it is the problem that Belov depicts in the novel that caused such a positive response, rather than the novel itself. Similarly, there are those who feel that certain novels should not be published. The press is beginning to say that perhaps what is being seen now is a case of "too much too soon."

Zolotusskiy continues: "The struggle is centered around restructuring itself. Can't you feel this? There are many people who do not wish this at all, who resist it. Very much so in fact." The audience bursts into applause.

Kardin says that everything Zolotusskiy said totally coincides with his views. However, ideological struggle is not confined to literature alone. It is being waged right across the board. He mentions the name of Professor Tatyana Zaslovskaya who, unlike so many other sociologists, does not constantly give advice to writers. Academician Zaslovskaya has been studying the attitude of various strata within Soviet society toward restructuring. She identifies one stratum that is openly antagonistic to restructuring. He says: "I want to ask you: If this stratum does exist does it have its own aesthetics? In other words does it have its own cinematography, its own literature? Something that humors this stratum, that gratifies its needs? Certainly this exists. God save us from hasty decisions or rushing in and condemning on the basis of such things as the mafia-type machinations in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in which even writers were involved. Therefore, when I spoke about individual responsibilities, I had something quite different in mind than what Mikhaylov was alluding to. I am talking about moral responsibilities, about finally

understanding this phenomena, comprehending the aesthetics, and finally understanding why, during the past 25 years, this form of literature received such widespread exposure. This is not just a coincidence. It reflects certain social and spiritual processes. Therefore the question of an ideological struggle, of a literary struggle is a very serious one. And we will continue to encounter it. In this case, as indeed on the question of restructuring, we must not, under any circumstances, be tempted to simplify it. Because, let me say it again, restructuring by itself will not lead to anything."

Zolotusskiy recalls that some 15 years ago he wrote a critical review of the journal YUNOST. Nothing really came of it, since 15 years later the journal continues to publish exactly the same material. He says: "You must understand that critics do not have police powers. Nor does criticism act as censorship that can prevent a work from being published." All the critic can do, as indeed the father of Russian literary criticism Belinskiy did, is to focus on shortcomings and doggedly keep at it."

A discussion of the so-called "gray" or vulgar literature, which participants say has little literary merit but seems to enjoy popular readership, takes place. A sociologist in the audience points out that since the readership of such popular literature is very large it would indicate that there is a societal need for this form of literature and that the time had come for literary criticism to address the problems. The panel generally agrees with the statement. Kardin particularly stresses the importance of differentiating between such popular literature, which has its place, and worthwhile literary works. The main thing is that the public should be aware that this form of literature makes no other claim than to entertain.

A woman addresses a question to Mikhaylov: "Why is it that in contemporary literary criticism there is a decline in such concepts as socialist realism, national character [narodnost] and party spirit [partinost]." The question is greeted with applause.

Mikhaylov gives a short answer, stating that in his opinion this is a shortcoming of contemporary Soviet criticism.

A man then asks why Vorobyev's novel "Is this really us, Oh Lord," which was written in 1943, is still so readable and relevant to this day. Zolotusskiy says: "Because it was written by a free man." He goes on to say that despite the conditions of being taken prisoner of war, despite all the depravations, Solovyev remained essentially free to himself. He goes on to speak about what a critic can contribute to an author: "Criticism can be useful to an author when it has an independent world view. What I have in mind is this: Here we have been speaking about courage. Think about it. Courage in relation to events we have enough of. But courage in relation to ideas is still lacking. Courage in relation to general ideas is still in short supply. That is why LITERATURNAYA GAZETA is so silent on its front pages. That is why the voice of our literature is changing so slowly. Because literature does not just judge facts as journalism does, it judges the whole, the ideas. Do you

understand what I am saying? Which idea should be causing us the greatest concern? It is the idea of faith. What we believe in and where we are going." He goes on to say that this question had recently led authors to biblical themes. In a sense, the contemporary Soviet author investigating biblical themes does so as a beginner, unlike, for example, Bulgakov who was brought up steeped in Christian traditions. He says: "The Aytmatov generation knew nothing of the Gospel."

A young woman says that recently the tendency has been to retrieve old, unpublished materials. This includes the whole gamut of literary endeavor--books, art, films. All this is laudable and the public is welcoming the opportunity to see the works that were previously denied to them. The problem, however, is that this also makes it more difficult for young authors to get published. The panel agrees that care must be taken not to ignore the contemporary generation to the detriment of future generations of readers.

Zolotusskiy contends that there may be this kind of danger but the danger is not overwhelming. There are a variety of journals that are prepared to publish young authors, so much so that the older generation at times becomes concerned. Mikhaylov agrees, saying that he for one is not concerned with the future of Soviet literature. This talent will prevail and innovative writers will continue to get published.

Kuznetsov chooses this moment to end the program. He thanks the participants, the audience, and the viewers.

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CSO: 1800/743

WRITER RASPUTIN ON WAYS TO DEFEND RESTRUCTURING

PM231245 Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Jun 87 p 4

[Interview with Hero of Socialist Labor Valentin Grigoryevich Rasputin by special correspondents G. Volovich and Yu. Mayorov under the rubric "The Writer and the Epoch": "Valentin Rasputin: 'Let There Be Emotion and Reason'"--first graf is unattributed introduction]

[Excerpts] Our special correspondents met with the well-known Soviet writer, Hero of Socialist Labor Valentin Grigoryevich Rasputin. His replies to the questions put by the correspondents are published below.

[Volovich, Mayorov] We are assessing what has been achieved in the economy and culture in the exacting light of restructuring. Which moral values, in your view, require special concern, safeguarding, and protection against devaluation?

[Rasputin] In my opinion, we must safeguard primarily those values which form the basis of our collective, labor, and true people's morality. In our country, it would seem, the concepts of conscience, honor, duty, and responsibility to society, the collective, the family, and oneself... have become devalued among many people. Everything, of course--and especially now--must be in its rightful place. Take, for example, the concept of labor honor. Every profession can be said to have its own point of pride. The intellectual, the serviceman, the worker, and people of any labor specialty must safeguard the good name of their own profession. But over many years this has gradually been somehow dispersed and eroded...

It seems to me that morality should be based on the people's foundations, traditions, and history. Memory also comes into the concept of morality. And all this requires a solicitous attitude and protection. These would seem to be much to protect. But there is still insufficient legal backing. There are not enough levers helping to embody the law. Indeed, we still turn to this legislation only rarely. Usually, it's all the same--people say: You won't obtain anything, you won't achieve anything. Let the authorities decide, it's nothing to do with us. These positions are, unfortunately, still very strong...

[Volovich, Mayorov] We are by no means unable to see the serious omissions, difficulties, and errors behind our indisputable achievements. The most important task now is restructuring. Which aspects of this very complex matter are closest of all to you? What could you say about the place and role of the writer in the current processes of social renewal?

[Rasputin] What is most important, in my view, in restructuring? Probably what we talk about most: openness and democracy. There is openness and openness. There is currently much froth appearing together with openness. All this is very understandable. So we must be more precise about the actual concept of openness. Openness is the need and opportunity for every person to express his opinion on the most important socially significant questions. Not on individual or group questions. But primarily on state issues. It seems to me that public opinion is still not always taken into account. Take the example of Poklonnaya Hill. A competition was held in conditions of openness for the best design for a monument. And there was, after all, a plan which won a significant number of the votes. However, this was discounted. Without even explaining why, the popular plan was rejected. Possibly there were some reasons. But these should be explained to the people who believed that it was precisely this plan which was worthy of being embodied on Poklonnaya Hill...

Now, it is restructuring not from above but from below that is clearly of particular importance. And restructuring from above [as published] must be supported more actively by the people. For this we need restructuring in each of us. But we seek justification for ourselves. Let everyone restructure themselves, but not our collective. Let everybody all around me restructure themselves, but not me.

It is very important that restructuring does not die away, does not prove to be a game, a temporary phenomenon. It seems to me that in this connection we must also express our attitude to those processes and phenomena which occurred in our country in the thirties.

We need to be straightforward, complete, and truthful. What happened to our society in the thirties? What happened to our kolkhozes, our peasantry, and our working class? Without concealing anything. There have been many discoveries. A great deal was caused by necessity. A great deal occurred that should not have been permitted under any circumstances. Now some people regard restructuring with caution. And they regard the laws that are being adopted in the same way. For example, the Law on Individual Labor Activity. They say: Let's wait and see what happens. A more profound appraisal of the past would help to break down these doubts.

What about the role of the writer in the processes of social renewal? Perhaps I exaggerate the writer's role too much, but it is very great. It was necessary to have preparation for the current restructuring. It could not appear in an empty space. And there were preconditions. And it seems to me that these preconditions were prepared not least by art and literature. Perhaps most of all by writers. They wrote a great deal about the--as we now say--negative phenomena in society, the shortcomings, and the stagnant

phenomena. It was more difficult to speak out than it is now. But nevertheless literature managed to speak out about them. Through artistic and journalistic writing. And today literature is called on to put special emphasis on completing restructuring as rapidly as possible and placing fewer obstacles in its way. Restructuring cannot take place smoothly. We see that it also has its opponents. And there will be errors. And we writers must be completely truthful and understand in depth the processes that are taking place.

[Volovich, Mayorov] It has become almost fashionable for the heroes of some books to sprinkle their heads with ashes and confess their innumerable shortcomings. Is there really any reason for going to such extremes? Are there still truly remarkable people, heroes of our time?

[Rasputin] It is perfectly true that we rush from extreme to extreme. And this, evidently, is a Russian trait of ours. Either everything is fine with us, despite all the shortcomings there have been. Or now, you hear other people saying that everything is going badly with us despite all the virtues there are. And here indeed the grain of truth must be picked out. It is necessary to say sincerely what is good and what is bad, including among people.

[Volovich, Mayorov] The theme of work in literature is still rather impoverished. There is much praise. But, after all, the ability to work conscientiously has always been considered man's best quality. What is your opinion of all this?

[Rasputin] This is the question of "industrial" literature, which has always been a sore point with me. Literature cannot be divided into rural, industrial, urban, confessional, and so forth literature. We must not give preference to one artificially isolated type of literature over another. This does not mean, of course, that there should not be any novels about work. There should be. There always have been. There were some last century too. Only they were not called "industrial novels." We absolutely do need the "industrial novel." And literature is at fault if there is no such novel, if there is no patronage of construction projects.

Incidentally, I do not understand why literary patronage of construction projects is needed. To assemble libraries? There is an official to deal with this. Why should the magazine DRUZHBA NARODOV be patron of Nurek and the magazine NEVA patron of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES? Why should the Irkutsk writers' organization be patron of Ust-Ilimsk? This smacks of ad hoc campaigning again. We have become accustomed to campaigns and cannot give them up. The writer must go at the dictates of his own heart to the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES and write about what is happening there, and help the construction workers like that. Then again we have many writers who came from the working class, who do not need to be forced to go and campaign for this. They will go themselves.

We must write about work. But somehow we regard the "industrial novel" as a guide which can increase a person's professional standard. It is almost so. Any literature must above all influence a person's soul. And a person with a good soul will not permit himself to work badly. He will work better not thanks to an "industrial novel" but thanks to a good novel.

[Volovich, Mayorov] Is Siberia contributing in full measure to enhancing our motherland's might? What, in your view, are the shortcomings and omissions here?

[Rasputin] Siberia is bringing enhancement not just "in full" but in much too "full" a measure, and frequently it is being simply robbed and stripped, not at all carefully. This is apparent from many examples. From the new cities and construction projects from which primarily oil, coal, timber, and electricity are demanded. And attention is directed last and least of all to people, housing, and social, cultural, and welfare facilities. All this is being done in our country on the principle of residue planning and financing. Frequently in practice things still remain as they were 10 years ago. Because still nobody is really responsible for these things--for raw materials above all. And these are being pumped out of Siberia. So timber is being shipped out when, after all, it could also be processed here. In the same way oil and many other things are being pumped out. And how barbarically the timber is being gotten out! There are lumberjacks procuring on their own behalf, particularly in our own Irkutsk Oblast. I cannot talk calmly about this. Siberia possesses considerable raw material reserves, but they are not being extracted carefully. What will happen a few years from now?...

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CSO: 1800/743

## BOOKS HAILED FOR EXPOSING EVILS OF LYSENKOISM

PM230911 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jun 87 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Philological Sciences Yu. Andreyev under the rubric "Critic's Notes": "Confrontation"; first paragraph is in the form of an introduction]

[Excerpts] According to popular belief, you cannot live in a house where a corpse is buried in the cellar: The inhabitants won't feel right until they take the remains to the cemetery... The bones of the 1948 VASHKNIL session of ill renown have been decomposing for many a long year in the cellars of our native science and, furthermore, of the whole edifice of our social life. And now practically simultaneously three artistic works by Soviet writers (I will continue the comparison) have constituted a decisive removal from our historical life of those remains of a distant action which was the consequence of evil causes and which, in its turn, was one of the causes of the defamation of gifted scientists and the serious backwardness of our biological science. I mean the stories "Each Hour Will Be Justified..." ["Opravdan budet kazhdy chas..."] (YUNOST, 1986, Nos 10-11) by Vl. Amlinskiy; "The Bull" ["Zubr"] (NOVIY MIR, 1987, Nos 1-2) by D. Granin; and the novel "White Clothes" ["Belye odezhdy"] (NEVA, 1987, Nos 1-4) by Vl. Dudintsev.

The social meaning of these persecutions which at one time rained down upon scientists is expounded in its most direct and open form in "The Bull." D. Granin reproduces D. Lebedev's words: "The conflict, of course, was not on account of the genes. They hadn't caused any alarm. This was presented as the seat of resistance... Their science, don't you see, must develop freely... This is the crux--freely or as instructed from above. Many of us clearly understood that under those conditions it was a struggle against the cult of personality.

"How do you mean?"

"Lysenko was declaring everywhere that Stalin himself supported him. And suddenly they are daring to oppose Lysenko. They call him an ignoramus. How are we to understand this? What do they mean? Whom are they calling into question?..."

The works named above differ in terms of vital style, the author's manner, and in the nature of their artistic decisions. But their common ground is the overriding inner conflict: the confrontation between people who see their duty in serving the truth, genuine science, and, hence, their country and all mankind, and those who, creating arbitrariness and having lost their conscience, are preoccupied with self-extolment, with self-assertion at any cost--even as far as discrediting and even physically destroying their opponents.

Vl. Amlinskiy creates a whimsical, basically autobiographical essay which develops at a leisurely pace. His memory--from any point in the past--constantly returns to thoughtful reminiscences about his father, one of those scientist-biologists whose destiny was ridden down by the heavy chariot of Lysenkoism. Before us we have the exploration of those moral qualities which enabled the man, the intellectual to retain his dignity in conditions of mental traumas and threats promising the most serious of all possible consequences. His passion for his work and the constant readiness to help others in difficult circumstances, his disinterestedness, and a truthfulness which grew from the conviction that the truth in science and in life is the law of a scientist's behavior; his belief in knowledge and, in addition, the capacity for multifaceted critical analysis of ostensibly unshakable truths; his gentleness in his attitude to those unwittingly deluded and disdainful hardness with regard to conscious falsifiers--this is the dialectic of this man's character, and it forms the spiritual center of Vl. Amlinskiy's poetic and courageous story.

In my opinion the writer's position is quite correct especially now when many zealous hunters have emerged, including in literature, not only to take their leave of evil skeletons but also to cancel out all our past--the distant and the recent. Vl. Amlinskiy (just like D. Granin and Vl. Dudintsev in their new works) has recalled very opportunely those permanent human values on which our people's state has relied and will continue to rely. He has recalled those people who--and in the most dramatic circumstances--adhered to the position of active good and were moved by a feeling of justice. Let us ponder: But who but such honest Soviet people as these who form the huge, overwhelming majority of our people could have created this huge world power, the Soviet Union, which crushed the hitherto indestructible Hitlerite Germany? A Soviet Union which was and continues to be a tremendous force for the progressive development of mankind's history and the main guarantor of worldwide peace.

In the novel "White Clothes" Vl. Dudintsev has artistically recreated the character of a man for whom the high civic nature of his life's behavior and the service of truth in science are facets of a single human morality. The situation in the novel is highly complex: It is precisely Candidate of Biological Sciences Fedor Ivanovich Dezhkin whom the sinister "people's academician" Ryadno sends as his agent in the exposure and crushing of those biologists who in a large scientific and experimental institute have retained their loyalty to classical genetics. I will not begin to set out here the very acute subject and psychological peripeteia of that struggle which is waged by Dezhkin precisely in behalf of preserving the best of what these

scientists have achieved, above all a new strain of potato which is resistant to disease and pests. From the writer's reminiscences it is known that his character had a real prototype (a woman, true): Nina Aleksandrovna Lebedeva. In her "scientific underground" she was secretly able to develop a new strain of potato, and by means of very hard work she managed to preserve it.

The writer's wisdom lies in the fact that he clearly sets apart the moral and social accents which enable us to differentiate the thrust of Dezhkin's and Ryadno's actions--that is, he reveals the complex dialectic of confrontation in social life.

The originality of the novel "White Clothes" lies in the fact that, shunning the publicist's sharpness, the writer conducts an artistic investigation into those qualities in human nature which are the fruit not so much of the socioclass as of the individual-psychological, innate attributes of the personality. The different complexes--envy, inferiority, or lust for power, for example--do they rarely engender social calamities? Yes, science, unfortunately, has done little at the moment to analyze such common human anomalies. Thus it is all the more interesting to see the approaches to understanding them in "the study of humankind" (this is what Maksim Gorkiy called fiction). "White Clothes" is a novel about those who, although they are suffering, do good according to the inducements of their conscience--a remarkable work of Soviet contemporary literature.

It is symptomatic that in all three works about which we are speaking here the writers' attention has been drawn to types of people who actively oppose voluntarism in biological science. These people have appeared at the center of moral and social struggles. And quite naturally the writers' intensified attention is focused on the specific features of their personality and the sources of their spiritual steadfastness. It seems to me that D. Granin moves furthest of all in this analytical work. His hero is Nikolay Timofeyev-Resovskiy, nicknamed The Bull--a man subject to surprising turns of fate and of an inflexible character, a man who has steadfastly followed his own perceptions of the supreme moral values. With truly scientific meticulousness the writer investigates this man's genealogical tree and reconstructs the path of the formation of his hero as an individual. Moving along behind him along the twists of his phantasmagoric biography, he stresses unobtrusively but firmly: The notion of independence and honor were dearer to The Bull than all other notions, dearer than a career and success in science. One can say that honor in life and honor in science merged for him into a single whole.

It is natural that in a work where the psychology of a strong, outstanding personality is the object of thoughtful artistic attention, much space is devoted to, and the author's many serious meditations are dedicated to, the problems of morality and the interlinkage between man and historical circumstances. It must be stressed that these are in no way abstract judgments: That utterly specific situation which engendered Lysenkoism resulted in a situation whereby--not only in biological science and not only in science in general, but everywhere--there rose to the surface and,

unfortunately, ended up in leadership positions many of those people who are often guided in no way by the interests of truth and society. Yes, their time has passed, but they nearly always reproduced for themselves similar people out of subsequent generations: Who among us has not come up against a similar pitiful situation?... And so it seems that "The Bull," a tale of ostensibly bygone times, is a work which is at the same time acutely topical, geared to the future moreover.

How shall I conclude these notes? The publication of the latest works of Vl. Amlinskiy, D. Granin, and Vl. Dudintsev is a comforting fact both for the contemporary atmosphere of our social life and also for our literature. I believe, however, that their future destiny must not be confined only to magazine circulation--it would be disappointing not to profit from these inner possibilities for improvement which are found in these books which are both interesting and remarkable for our time.

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CSO: 1800/737

WRITER'S FATE RECALLS 'MASS REPRESSIONS' OF 1937

PM071445 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 27 Jun 87 p 5

[Interview with Armenian Honored Artist R. T. Kazaryan by Vladimir Shakhnazaryan: "Trust"]

[Text] These manuscripts, wrapped in waxed rags, had been packed into a small barrel and buried in the basement of an old Yerevan house in 1937. Only after almost half a century were they prepared for publication.

Armenian Honored Artist Regina Tatevosovna Kazaryan rescued 12,000 priceless lines by Yeghishe Charents, classic writer of Armenian literature and poet of the revolution.

[Shakhnazaryan] How did this happen?

A shadow came over Regina Tatevosovna's face.

[Kazaryan] The poet was arrested in August 1937. However, they had not yet had time to search his apartment. Then, one day, when Charents' wife Izabella returned from delivering packages to the jail, we succeeded in making out by means of a magnifying glass an inscription made by a chemical pencil on his shirt, which had been taken away for washing. "Izabella," Charents wrote: "Look after the children, save my manuscripts, on this matter turn only to Regina, and to her alone, and trust her." That same night I buried a small barrel containing the manuscripts in the basement of a house where my close friends lived. Soon Izabella was arrested too.

[Shakhnazaryan] Were you not frightened?

The artist reflected.

[Kazaryan] I was 22 then and, despite my age, the great poet trusted me... At that time the author of "Leniniana" and "Frenzied Crowds" had been declared a "sworn enemy of the people," and you can imagine the risks involved in concealing his manuscripts. Believe me, everyone can know fear. I say this as a participant in the war who suffered shell shock. For war does not have a woman's face at all. Either a person conquers fear, or fear conquers the person. It seems to me that courage means overcoming fear, triumphing over it.

[Shakhnazaryan] Why did Charents entrust his precious manuscripts precisely to you? Was it faultless poetic intuition?

Regina Tatevosovna smiled.

[Kazaryan] I am often asked this question. Frankly? I still do not know. People say: The greater the poet, the more profoundly he comprehends the human heart. Perhaps. Charents' choice was a mystery to me. But, at the same time...something to be proud of. [Kazaryan ends]

I looked round the artist's studio. "Relics..." Portrayed on a canvas were yellowed manuscript pages, but Charents' invisible presence seemed to be nearby, and that, perhaps, was why the pages seemed to palpitate as though alive. Here a portrait showed his face, with a concentrated, heartfelt gaze. And here was Charents on a large canvas, alongside his remarkable contemporaries--Mayakovskiy, Akhmatova, Pasternak, Tsvetayeva, Mandelshtam, Voloshin, Belyy. And the canvas "Knightly," endowed with Charents' poetry--the poet surrounded by the muses.

Day after day, year after year, Regina Kazaryan has created her unique "Charentsiana" over the decades. The entire cycle appeared for the first time at the artist's personal exhibition in Yerevan in 1967 for the 70th anniversary of the poet's birth. She is now preparing an exhibit for Charents' 90th anniversary, which the public in the republic is widely celebrating.

[Kazaryan] You know, I also became an artist thanks to Yeghishe Charents. This is how it happened. One day, as a joke, I used a pencil to sketch a portrait of one of Charents' friends--the celebrated artiste Misho Manvelyan. On seeing the drawing, the poet exclaimed with his usual directness: You are an artist! That idea imprinted itself deeply in my heart, so great was the poet's personal charm, and so weighty his words. A real artist is someone who discovers an artist in another... And yet I was only 15 when I first made Charents' acquaintance. I literally raved over his verses and wrote verses myself. I was very keen on cycling as a sport. After a training session one day I went into the foyer of the Inturist Hotel to take a short rest, and suddenly I saw my beloved poet surrounded by well-known writers. Catching sight of me with a bicycle, he himself inquired: Who is that young sportswoman? On being introduced, he began asking me about my parents. I remarked that my mother, Vergine Khorasanyan, was the first woman doctor of medical sciences in Armenia, who defended her thesis in Berlin in 1910, while my father, Tatevos Oganessian, had become a doctor of agricultural sciences even earlier in Switzerland, and they had returned to the homeland to work. That impressed Charents greatly. For he himself had been a direct participant in the October Revolution and was devoting all his energy to building the new Armenia's culture. [Kazaryan ends]

Regina Tatevosovna spoke sparingly about herself. But what a full life behind those few words. The life of an entire generation. Young people in the thirties were keen on flying. She traveled to Moscow, entered an air school,

returned to Yerevan after graduating, and resumed her friendship with Charents, right up to the tragic denouement...

[Kazaryan] Then came the war and service in a balloon regiment. I joined the ranks of the Communist Party in the grim year of 1943. Only after the end of the war did I enter Yerevan Art Institute. I had fine teachers--Martiros Saryan, Professor Osmerkin, Akop Kodzhoyan... [Kazaryan ends]

I looked at a portrait of the artist painted by Saryan. Strong-willed features, the calm, confident gaze of a woman who has experienced a great deal and is strong in spirit. The master had faultlessly captured the sitter's character. Albums and letters on a table. A great many of them. One from Yevgeniy Yevtushenko, thanking Regina Tatevosovna for saving Charents' manuscripts.

[Kazaryan] Believe me, the thought of the manuscripts haunted me even during the difficult war years. You say--fear? If I feared anything, it was that something might happen to me, because I was the only person who knew where Charents' manuscripts were... But when the name of Charents was once again broadcast over the radio for all to hear, I at once rushed to the old basement. Fortunately, the manuscripts, by and large, had survived, with the exception of a small part of them. And several years later many of the poet's priceless lines were included in the first volume of unpublished works, and three more are being prepared for publication.

[Shakhnazaryan] And thanks to you a new Charents has appeared before us--a diverse, wise, subtle lyric poet and a profound epic poet, in all the glory of his skill and philosophical profundity. And yet all these assets might have perished irretrievably...

[Kazaryan] I will answer you in the words of Charents:

"May your heart bear the bloody trace of these hopes; I will not take them back! I will still sing of your glory, my strong, iron brother!" [Kazaryan ends]

Extracts from R. Kazaryan's "Reminiscences of Charents," recently published in the republic press, elicited great public interest and revealed a new facet of the artist's talent.

Her fine powers of observation, her psychological penetration of character, her graphic style--all this made a valuable contribution to understanding Charents' personality.

[Shakhnazaryan] Why have your reminiscences appeared in the press only now? For Charents has long been widely recognized. Streets, schools, an entire city bear his name...

[Kazaryan] I will answer. I was hindered by those who said "No good will come of it" and those who were opposed to "raking over the past." As though

the past could be expunged from a person's life, because that is just the same as expunging the memory. Fortunately, the policy of openness has helped. The April spring of 1985 decided not only the fate of my articles, which over the years had received persistent rejection, but also many things in our life. "Restructuring" appears a simple word, but it in fact means an entire historic shift, when it has become easy to breathe. It is possible to express oneself freely, and truthful words have been heard about the past and the present of our country. Reminiscence means memory, the past, history, and without assessing that there can be neither present nor future.

[Shakhnazaryan] In fact, it could be said that art is the memory of mankind recorded in artistic images.

[Kazaryan] And that is why it is long-lived. Giotto's pictures, Toros Roslin's miniatures, and Andrey Rublev's images live through the centuries. Genuine poetry is long-lived.

[Shakhnazaryan] A last question. As a participant in the Patriotic War, you saw how the Soviet people, men and women, fought selflessly and defeated the fascist aggressor, not sparing their lives. But shortly before the start of the war our people had to experience a very great tragedy in their history--the deaths of poets, military leaders, and scientists--and experience the mass repressions of 1937. What was it that helped the people to summon up their strength and triumph?

[Kazaryan] Trust. The people trusted their motherland, the revolution, October, and Lenin's ideals. The people would never have been able to triumph if the will to resist brute violence, cruelty, and lies had not lived within them. This is why the people trust the April spring with its broad program of the democratization of society. Unconditionally condemning any distortion of the ideals of socialism, they are restructuring the present with confidence in the future.

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CSO: 1800/737

## WRITER EXPLAINS SHIFT IN HIS VIEW OF STALIN

PM290801 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 20 June 1987 carries on page 6 under the headline "Telling the Whole Truth..." a 4,000-word feature prepared by L. Lazareva and quoting letters to various people from writer Konstantin Simonov. The brief introduction notes that the five letters are "reprinted from copies preserved in the K. M. Simonov archive."

In the first letter, dated 16 December 1963 and addressed to Larisa Baranova, Simonov reassures her that he "never had the feeling that young people are incapable of understanding my generation or that today's young generation is worse than we were at the age of 20-25."

In the second letter, dated 18 June 1971 and addressed to R. L. Karmen, Simonov says: "I still do not see any real opportunity to depict cinematographically the initial period of the war with even the measure of truth used in, say, 'The Light and the Dead'."

The next letter, dated 9 March 1971 and addressed to Ye. A. Isayev, at that time chief of the Russian Soviet poetry desk at the "Sovetskiy Pisatel" Publishing House, complains about the lack of response to a collection of poems by Boris Lapin and Zakhar Khatsrevin, who were killed at the front during the war, which Simonov sent on to Isayev for publication.

In a letter addressed to M. A. Prokofyev and dated 25 April 1970, Simonov asks for Prokofyev's "personal intervention" in a matter involving the suggested substitution of an extract from Simonov's play "Russian People" for an extract from his play "The Front" which was included in an educational movie about Soviet literature during World War II. "The Front," Simonov writes, was published by PRAVDA in 1942 and in it he "sharply criticized our shortcomings in waging war and criticized people who failed to cope with their duties during the war."

The feature concludes with the following letter addressed to "Shapashkova" and dated Moscow, 18 May 1964:

"Dear Comrade Shapashkova! I received your kind letter and read it with great interest. You were disturbed by a question to do with my poem 'Grim Anniversary.' Let me try to answer it for you.

"I was never one of those who glorified Stalin at every available opportunity. Recently, while I was preparing my wartime essays and dispatches for reissue, I was even somewhat amazed to discover that his name is mentioned in just two of them. I myself was under the impression that I had mentioned him more often. Apparently not. During Stalin's lifetime three movies of mine about the war were produced--'The Guy From Our Town,' 'Wait for Me,' and 'Days and Nights.' It appears that, in contrast with many other movies, these can be viewed now without changing anything in them or cutting anything from them, while many other war movies like 'The fall of Berlin,' 'The Oath,' 'The Battle of Stalingrad,' and so on, are simply unwatchable now. I am now republishing my novella 'Days and Nights,' written during the war, and the novella 'The Smoke of the Fatherland,' written after the war, without correcting anything in them. There is no need to: Even though Stalin is mentioned in 'Days and Nights,' he is mentioned appropriately and, I feel, correctly mentioned, and I see no reason to delete this mention now.

"And now about the poem 'Grim Anniversary.' At heart I, probably like many other people, had complex feelings about Stalin. Much was perplexing, we pondered many things, we tried to put the best face on things to ourselves. Of course, Stalin's authority was an enormous authority for us. For me, this authority was particularly great during the war. I knew that terrible things had been done in 1937-1938, that many innocent people had been thrown inside, but I tried to explain this to myself by saying that all this happened without Stalin's knowledge, that Yezhov, the NKVD, and so on were to blame while Stalin did not know what was happening. Of course, even then I thought that he was partly to blame, but at the same time I believed that he had not known about it and when he did learn he tried to eradicate these phenomena. This is how I explained things to myself at the time.

"The poem 'Grim Anniversary' was written at a difficult time, in the fall of 1941, and very far away, in the northernmost sector of the front. Those were the days when the German offensive against Moscow was under way, when it was very important for us all that Stalin not join the evacuation but stay on in Moscow--this seemed to guarantee that Moscow would not be surrendered. It was at that time that I wrote the poem 'Grim Anniversary,' and I wrote it with all my soul, expressing my attitude toward Stalin at that time.

"When Stalin died, I did not destroy this poem and you can find it not only in anthologies published while Stalin was alive, but also in, for example, the anthology of my lyrics and poems published in 1955, already 2 years after Stalin's death.

"But when, during and after the 20th congress, I--gradually--learned the truth about Stalin, the truth which I had not known earlier, the truth which I had maybe guessed to a certain extent but I had tried to push these thoughts aside, tried not to let myself believe them, when I learned what had really happened, my attitude toward Stalin changed sharply. When I realized that Yezhov had been only the executor of Stalin's will, when I realized that all the distortions, all the arrests, and all the trials of tens and hundreds of thousands of innocent people who were exiled and shot--that all this was on

the direct orders, with the approval, and at the initiative of Stalin--then, of course I could no longer regard him in the same way as before. And I stopped publishing and reading this poem. I also stopped publishing poems which I had once loved, poems like 'Rally in Canada' and 'My Friend Samed Vurgun's Speech,' which mentioned Stalin in the way I had once imagined him.

"Yes, there was a reassessment of values. And had we not conducted this reassessment of values, we would have been unable to continue building communism and advancing with a clear conscience.

"I am not ashamed to have written the poem 'Grim Anniversary,' nor am I ashamed to have wept the night when Stalin died or to have been shaken by his death. I also wrote a poem in his memory that same night. I am not ashamed of that poem: That is how I felt at the time. But this cannot make me dig my heels in and try to prove that I was right at the time, that Stalin was a wonderful person in all respects, and that I don't want anything to do with everything we know about him now, I don't want to even know about it. This stance would be incorrect. On the contrary, I believe that people who once incorrectly assessed Stalin and who failed to understand many aspects of his activity--the negative and difficult aspects which caused us damage that is difficult to repair and cost us the lives of millions of people--that people who have now realized how everything really was must write about Stalin and that era in the way their conscience prompts them, that they must tell the whole truth which they have now gradually learned.

"This is how I perceive things, and I see no reason to conceal what I wrote earlier, what I thought earlier, or what I think now. I am prepared to write this in a letter to any reader, and I am prepared to say it, and I have said it dozens of times before various audiences. These things must not be feared, they must be explained without hiding from oneself but telling the whole truth the way it was.

"Stalin was a major figure, he was a major politician. He did much that was correct and good during the war. But while saying this, it must be remembered that the army, whose leadership cadres he slaughtered [perebil] in 1937 and 1938, entered the war weakened, and he is to blame for that. It must be remembered that many people, sacrificing their lives, reported that the Germans were just about to start the war but he, arrogantly believing that he knew everything and was infallible, disregarded all these reports, as a result of which the war ultimately came as a surprise, and this cost us millions of unnecessary lives. These lives lie on his conscience. Later on, during the war--and this must also be remembered--he strove to do everything to rectify the situation, and did much for victory.

"This is the truth. It is complex, it needs complex and detailed explanations. But it is unavoidable. Everything must be said, all aspects of the matter. I think that this must be told to old and young alike, we must not be afraid to give these explanations. I, for example, would have no objection at all if you were to read this letter to a school pupil perplexed

at reading my poem 'Grim Anniversary.' If I were to talk to that pupil, I would tell him exactly the same as I am telling you now.

"I firmly shake your hand.

"With comradely greetings,

"Konstantin Simonov"

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CSO: 1800/737

OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON CLEANSING RANKS OF MVD

PM041011 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 May 87 p 2

[Own correspondent V. Itkin interview specially for TRUD with Major General of the Internal Service A. V. Anikiyev, member of the USSR MVD Collegium and chief of the USSR MVD Cadre Administration: "Civic Duty"--date and place unspecified]

[Text] "We task law enforcement organ cadres with... persistently learning to work under conditions of the expansion of democracy and openness, relying on the trust and support of the entire people." That is what M. S. Gorbachev said at the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum. In a talk with this TASS correspondent, Major General of the Internal Service A. V. Anikiyev, member of the USSR MVD Collegium and chief of the USSR MVD Cadre Administration, discussed how this party demand is being fulfilled.

[Itkin] The USSR MVD Collegium meeting held this spring outlined ways of expanding democracy and openness and measures to strengthen the militia's leading services and to stabilize and create a professional core of cadres. Assessments were made of stagnant phenomena in cadre work at MVD organs. Please tell us about this in more detail.

[Anikiyev] The negative processes linked with the violation of socialist legality and the degeneration of cadres took an extremely ugly form in the USSR MVD system. This assessment was also made by the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. There is no getting away from the facts. There are obvious defects in work with the personnel, ideological-political education and the selection and placement of the leading echelon have been neglected, and there have been numerous cases of favoritism, boot-licking, and servility. The outcome of this was that people with low moral and political qualities who exploited their position for selfish abuse wormed their way into MVD service. Over the last few years several thousand people have been dismissed and many have been convicted for lawbreaking and crimes, including bribery. We make no secret of the fact that the conditions of authoritarian leadership methods fostered ostentation, talking shops, and window-dressing. This demoralized practical workers and lower-level leaders.

[Itkin] But might not the unconscientious fulfillment by certain MVD staffers of their service duty, along with red tape and formalism, lead to citizens who

have been the victims of crimes losing faith in the power and justice of the law and its effectiveness in protecting their personal safety and that of their property?

[Anikiyev] You are right. Such intolerable cases do tangible damage to the prestige of internal affairs organs and deprive them of the people's support and trust.

[Itkin] Many complaints from working people on legal topics to leading organs and the mass media are mostly triggered by the unskillful actions of militia workers in disclosing crimes and tracking down criminals. Is that so?

[Anikiyev] We understand and support the mass media's principled position in revealing violations of socialist legality. This year alone we have followed up more than 120 critical articles in the central and local press. The ministry tries to react to them swiftly by, as a rule, visiting the area in question. Effective measures are being taken to eradicate the causes that give rise to such articles and, of course, to punish all guilty officials.

[Itkin] Until recently MVD organs were not responsible enough in solving questions of retaining young people in the service, including people sent from labor collectives and even people recommended by the party and the Komsomol. How is the situation being rectified?

[Anikiyev] The figures attest that, whereas until quite recently up to 20,000 people went back to their old jobs after 1-2 years in militia organs, in 1986 the dropout rate fell by 9.2 percent, and by 10.2 percent for people in their first year of service. Last year internal affairs organs were replenished by 19,600 Communists, which allowed the proportion of party members to increase to 32.5 percent. Particular attention is currently being devoted to strengthening leading components and promoting young and promising workers capable of effectively solving the tasks set.

[Itkin] Clearly the restructuring process at the MVD is only just beginning. It has obviously not yet reached many elements and avenues of your activity.

[Anikiyev] Restructuring of cadre work is being conducted on the basis of democratizing and giving more publicity to the cadre selection, placement, promotion, and assessment process and the active participation of party and Komsomol organizations in it. We are pinning great hopes from the viewpoint of retaining cadres, ensuring discipline, and enhancing their responsibility for fulfilling their service duty on the certification of the entire personnel, which is planned for the 1987-1990 period. Our most important task is to boost demandingness with regard to the quality of cadre selection and fundamentally review the entire nature of the work. In a number of cases the new-generation personnel also fail to match up to the demands made of them. Unfortunately, even now people who are unworthy of the lofty title of Soviet militiaman, violators of labor discipline, and sometimes, alas, even drunkards are being recruited to work in MVD organs. Candidates applying to enter the ranks of the MVD or internal affairs administrations are examined only

superficially. Recommendations from their places of study and work are presented in a pro forma manner. Last year alone several thousand staffers who had served in organs for less than a year--including 440 young specialists--were dismissed. For instance, the militiaman Krendach was recruited to the Rubtsovsk Internal Affairs Department in Altay Kray despite the negative opinion about him expressed by the commander of his military unit and despite the refusal of the administration at the place where he had worked for a short time to provide a character reference. Just 10 months later he was dismissed for alcohol abuse. This is a lesson for the future. Cadre questions cannot be treated superficially. We will have to be selective in choosing from the 150,000 Komsomol members who are to be sent to internal affairs organs under a joint resolution signed by the Komsomol Central Committee and the MVD Collegium.

Not everything is going smoothly with our national cadres either. In a number of mountainous regions of the Azerbaijan SSR, for instance, all jobs are held only by Azerbaijanis. Many of them have a poor knowledge of Russian, which creates considerable difficulties in their work. The prerequisites for such distortions can be traced back to the staffing of our educational establishments. Kazakhs comprise 71 percent of the students at the Alma-ata Militia School, Uzbeks comprise 76 percent of the students at the Tashkent Higher School, and Turkmen comprise 78 percent of students at the Ashkhabad school. This leads to linguistic exclusivity and manifestations of national arrogance and hampers the international education of cadres.

Manifestations of favoritism, nepotism, irresponsibility in resolving cadre questions, or the habit of using the vague assessment of a worker as a good person "in general" when nominating people for jobs have not been eradicated everywhere. But, in the minds of certain people, a good man is "their" man. Hence the special acceptance of a selection of applications--something that is alien to the party's present-day cadre policy. Thorough knowledge of people is supplanted by acquaintanceship, and the need to find the necessary organizers is replaced by a readiness to put in a good word for a friend or please a relative or someone from one's own district. It is in such a context that people who, to use Saltykov-shchedrin's expression, say "state" but dream of "pies stuffed with fiscal revenue" can feel safe.

The USSR MVD has outlined a range of practical measures to resolve these questions. This year it is planned to send 200 skilled specialists from other regions to the internal affairs organs of the Kazakh, Tajik, Turkmen, and Uzbek SSR's and the Chechen-Ingush ASSR. Acceptance of staffers from internal affairs organs in Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, and Kazakhstan to the USSR MVD Academy and higher schools situated in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and Belorussia will be expanded. At the same time we are stepping up the numbers of Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians being sent to study in the Central Asian republics, the Transcaucasus, and Kazakhstan.

[Itkin] The mass media now write quite often about cases of socialist legality being violated by internal affairs organ workers.

[Anikiyev] Last year criminal proceedings were instituted against Konstantinov, chief of the Internal Affairs Line Department at Leningrad's Finlyandskiy Station, and Antipenko, deputy chief of the criminal investigation section at the same department, who through threats and physical violence had forced citizens to give false evidence. A flagrant lack of a principled attitude to lawbreakers was shown by the leaders of the Northwest Internal Affairs Administration in transportation: Despite the obvious crimes that were going on, they thought it possible not to institute criminal proceedings against the lawbreakers, as a result of which they themselves came before the bench. The case was scandalous--two lieutenant colonels of the militia were in the dock. Such cases give rise to justifiable complaints from citizens. In 1986 the USSR MVD received over 17,000 letters about shortcomings, lawbreaking, and incorrect behavior by our staffers. And many of them have been recognized as justified and measures have been taken. Today our course is to persistently assimilate the methodology and practice of work under the conditions of extensive democracy, to arm and enrich it with new methods, and to rely fully on the disciplined potential of the institutions of Soviet democracy. Reporting and openness should not leave any moldy dark corners in our system--on the contrary, it should cleanse it of the slightest manifestations of illegality, dishonesty, bureaucracy, or uncouthness.

Readers may get the impression that cadre matters are being resolved only slowly at the ministry and that negative phenomena prevail. This is not so. Where else should one seek examples of heroism and courage today if not in the militia? Evidence of that is provided by the selflessness of the firemen and militiamen of Chernobyl, the assistance given to victims of natural disasters in a number of the country's regions, and the directives awarding government orders to our staffers. The overwhelming majority of internal affairs workers are honest people devoted to the party and the people. They carry aloft the honorable title of Soviet militiaman. And yet time now demands that we should not "rest on our laurels" but talk openly and honestly about whatever is still unresolved.

[Itkin] Thank you for your candid conversation, Anatoliy Vasilyevich.

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CSO: 1800/739

## SOCIAL ISSUES

### NEW PUBLIC ORGANIZATION TO ACT WITH GREENPEACE

PM111305 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jun 87 Second Edition p 5

[Report by A. Lyutiy: "Useful Initiative. Public Commission for the Conservation of Nature Has Been Created in the USSR"]

[Text] Man and nature are one. There is no need to prove that if nature does not exist, then neither will man. But today a threat such as mankind has never encountered in all its history looms over our ecological environment. It stems not only from nuclear weapons, which are capable of transforming all life on earth into radioactive dust. Nature will also slowly die as a result of unthinking pollution by industrial waste and of our own bad, consumerist attitude to it. Therefore today the struggle for all mankind's survival is a struggle for nature's survival also.

Yesterday a serious, animated, keen conversation took place on this subject at the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, where the representatives of our country's public, including scientists, writers, and moviemakers, met. The creation of a new public commission under the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace was announced. Its title at the present is provisional--"Green World"--but its main purpose has already been defined: to organically unite Soviet people's struggle for peace with the huge movement for the conservation of nature which is growing all the time in our country. One more direction of its activity is to coordinate and strengthen cooperation in this field with numerous foreign organizations for the defense of the environment. It is proposed to create branches of the commission under Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace branches in the country. The idea of channeling some of the funds received by the Soviet Peace Fund from citizens into ecological purposes has also been put forward.

The writer Sergey Zalygin, who has done much to ensure that the call to preserve nature is heard particularly insistently today, was elected chairman of the commission. The need for such an organization, he said, is quite obvious. It is not a new matter. We know what an onslaught and what attacks the public in favor of the protection of natural resources had to endure in some cases. But we believe that sound thinking will gain the upper hand over departmental thinking, for every day we see that nature is perishing and that the grim warnings are more than justified. The experience of the people who have fought for nature must be utilized and generalized.

David McTaggart, president of the international organization of defenders of the environment "Greenpeace," who attended the meeting, listened attentively to the speakers. Later he said: "In the struggle against environmental pollution, we must forget our differences and work together both in the West and in the East."

...So a good start has been made. Working contacts with our country's existing ecological clubs and groups are already being established. It has been decided to announce a competition for the emblem of the new public formation. The doors of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace in Moscow and its branches all over our country are open to those who have ideas, suggestions, and advice. This cause is a nationwide one.

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CSO: 1800/750

## ACADEMICS PROTEST PUBLICATION OF LYSENKOITE TRACTS

PM221047 [Editorial Report] Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 18 June 1987 carries on page 2 under the headline "Contrary to Scientific Truth" the following letter from Academicians N. Dubinin, A. Ivanov, and A. Takhtadzhyan; I. Rapoport, Yu. Polyanskiy, V. Strunnikov, and A. Yablokov, corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Academician N. Bochkov of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences; and Academician A. Sozinov of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and the V. I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences:

"In 1985 the publishing house of the Kemerovo Oblast organization of the RSFSR's 'Znaniye' Society published a brochure by V. G. Ioganzen and Ye. D. Logachev entitled 'I. V. Michurin and Modern Biology,' which attempted to resurrect in biological science Lamarck's basic thesis that living organisms can herit acquired characteristics. As is well known, this thesis was the central provision in T. D. Lysenko's views on heredity. In resurrecting it, the authors of the brochure have used old work carried out in a biased manner during the period of dogmatism and monopoly in biological science when T. D. Lysenko's supporters held sway.

"Yet it is very widely known that their many years of efforts to create highly productive varieties of agricultural crops and strains of animals on the basis of this concept were unsuccessful. Furthermore, for many years they distracted our breeders from adopting scientifically justified working methods and did appreciable damage to agriculture.

"Despite justifiable criticism of the brochure in the press (the journal TSITOLOGIYA I GENETIKA, Vol 20, No 5, 1985), two more brochures in the same vein have been published by the same authors. These brochures have been disseminated in many scientific institutions and the country's libraries. One of them--'The Basic Biological Problem for Debate in the 20th Century... '--is particularly striking in its bias and deliberate distortion of scientists' views. One section of the brochure is entitled 'Social Darwinism, Eugenics, and Racism As the Main Reasons for the Refusal to Recognize the Heredity of Acquired Characteristics and Features.' They dub everyone who does not share the thesis that living organisms are able to inherit acquired characteristics as proponents of eugenics, racism, or social Darwinism.

"The overwhelming majority of the country's biologists share the concept that it is impossible to inherit acquired characteristics. This concept is part of all VUZ and school textbooks and is no longer controversial. However, by citing numerous references to the work of Academician N. P. Dubinin, the brochure's authors attempt to create the impression that he shares their views. But this is absolutely untrue. Quite the opposite--in a number of publications N. P. Dubinin has exhaustively criticized the view that acquired characteristics are allegedly hereditary. All this automatically takes the reader back to 1948--difficult days for our biology--when similar speeches were made and similar items published.

"Apart from the wholesale criticism of biologists, the publication of the aforesaid brochures alarms us in connection with the following fact: Among specialists there is a large segment of people who graduated from VUZ's at the time when 'Lysenkoite genetics' were being taught there. The N. I. Vavilov All-Union Society of Geneticists and Breeders and the USSR Academy of Sciences' Scientific Council for Genetics and Selection Problems have been making great efforts to retrain these cadres in recent years. But the appearance in the press of Lysenkoite articles disorients insufficiently prepared readers.

"We see it as our duty to prevent genetics and selection from slipping onto the wrong path once again. That is why we decided to send this letter to the SELSKAYA ZHIZN editorial bureau.

"Academicians N. Dubinin, A. Ivanov, and A. Takhtadzhyan; I. Rapoport, Yu. Polyanskiy, V. Strunnikov, and A. Yablokov, corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Academician N. Bochkov of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences; and Academician A. Sozinov of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and the V. I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences."

The article is accompanied by the following reply from the editorial bureau:

"This November, in accordance with a UNESCO decision, the world's scientific public will be celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Nikolay Ivanovich Vavilov, the founder of Soviet genetics and selection. This reflects the gratitude and profound respect for this outstanding scientist, who did so much to develop Soviet biological science. The texts of the brochures by B. G. Ioganzen and Ye. D. Logachev, who are trying to revive the 'teachings' of T. D. Lysenko, now strike a discordant note.

"Some might object that discussion in science is natural--all the more so at a time of restructuring, openness, and democracy. Discussions are undoubtedly necessary in science. But any disputes among scientists should remain within the framework of science, rather than going beyond it. In this regard it is apposite to recall V. I. Lenin's wise words: 'In the sphere of natural sciences anyone who said that the laws governing natural phenomena were a fantasy would be certified or simply ridiculed' (V. I. Lenin, 'Yet Another Destruction of Socialism').

"Of course, nobody urges something of the sort to be done to the authors of the aforesaid brochures. However, it is hard not to consider the popularization of concepts diametrically opposed to the teaching of N. I. Vavilov and the objective data of modern world genetics to be speculation on the principles of openness and democracy."

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CSO: 1800/750

## REGIONAL ISSUES

### MOSCOW COMMISSION REVIEWS CITY INDIVIDUAL LABOR ACTIVITY

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 87 p 1

[Article by O. Lysenskiy: "Four Hours For the Benefit of Business: Notes From the Meeting of the Mosgorispolkom Commission for Individual Labor and Cooperative Activity"]

[Text] A month ago there was a small news item in the city papers that attracted a good deal of attention. It announced that on 1 July the Moscow City Executive Committee's Commission for Individual Labor and Cooperative Activity (ITD) would begin its work. Everyone refused the right to engage in ITD could appeal the decision before the commission, submitting for its consideration complex, still obscure questions.

The first meeting took place exactly one month after the law on ITD took effect. A month is not a long time. Nevertheless, not a few such questions arose even during this brief period. Many of them pose difficulties for soviet and economic organs. For 10,000 ITD applicants, there are 10,000 different questions, each one of which is going to have to be resolved by the rayispolkoms. And the number will continue to grow. It is a pity therefore that the chairmen of the corresponding rayon commissions, who are going to be directly responsible for deciding the fate of individual labor applicants and cooperators locally, were not invited to the meeting of the city's commission (which was broadly representative, including the chiefs of Moscow's main administrations and directorates, directors of legal and planning divisions, heads of the city's Sanitation and Epidemiological Station (SES) and of the Committee of People's Control). It would have been useful to have them present.

Even before the first individual labor applicant made his appearance in the hall, the commission addressed one extremely complex issue. The republic Council of Ministers has established 28 types of work for which it is possible to acquire a license. For remaining types of work, however, there are only registration certificates available. But do the rayispolkoms have the right to dictate to the individual labor applicant the form in which he should pay his taxes? By law they do not have the right. Each person has the right to choose: if he wants to, he takes out a license; if he prefers, he may take out a registration certificate. The government, of course, loses

a good deal in revenue by this means of taxation. For example, the annual tax on making clothing--the most widespread type of ITD in Moscow--has been averaging more than a thousand rubles per person. Some citizens paid more than 8,000 rubles. Naturally, they have now taken out licenses for 310 rubles. On the other hand, certain "sharpies" take out certificates and state in declarations that their annual incomes are under 840 rubles and therefore generally not taxable. Such a recourse pertains primarily to work that is not easy to audit or monitor.

That brings us to the first problem, and it is not an easy one. Practical experience conflicts with the interests of the state. What is to be done now? Local authorities scarcely will dare take it upon themselves to "tinker with" the law, nor is it necessary. In a number of union republics the question has already been resolved. For the kinds of individual labor that do not lend themselves to monitoring (there are in all five to seven, including private taxi service, photography, and the building and repair of gardening sheds), only licenses are issued. Moreover, they need not be issued for a year only. Why is it impossible to get a license for three or four months if the applicant has doubts about the success of his enterprise?

The commission decided to submit such proposals to the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

By the way, with respect to the rights of the commission--or, more precisely, with respect to the rights of the Mosgorispolkom. The matter has already been raised in one of the issues of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA regarding the necessity of providing the commission with more legal independence. It turns out to be a paradoxical situation. The capital in many respects, including the number of its inhabitants, exceeds certain union republics, yet each new proposal it has to make must be coordinated with republic organs. Thus it happens that exceptions must continually be made for Moscow, which is not even classified as one of the county's major cities.

However, let us return to the meeting of the commission. Here are the most typical complaints that it encountered. It is difficult to buy the necessary materials. It is difficult, too, contending with tools and equipment. The rayispolkoms are of little assistance, and there is red tape in filling out the forms. Work space accommodations are also a source of difficulty. The Main Architectural Planning Administration sent a letter to the divisions of rayon architects, forbidding them to provide stalls to individual entrepreneurs. The commission demanded that the Main Architectural Planning Administration review this letter.

Of course, not all questions could be successfully resolved. A.M. Snegirev and A.A. Kotov of Moscow requested permission to photograph tourists in certain parts of the city, including at the Exhibition of the achievements of the Soviet Economy. The help of individual photographers at the exhibition, where there are so many visitors, is essential, the commission decided.

But in the case of I. M. Littu of Sverdlovskiy Rayon, the ITD authorization was turned down. For a period of four years he had been making fashionable belts with a registration certificate. He had not participated in social production. Since 1 May, however, in accordance with the new law, he had been required to establish himself either as a state or as a cooperative enterprise and to work with an ITA license as a person having more than one job. V. V. Seleznev, chief of the Main Administration for Domestic Services in Moscow and a member of the commission, suggested that he conclude a labor contract with the domestic service under which he might stay in his stall, and after his basic work could occupy himself in individual activity.

A vote was required to resolve the following question. An adjuster at one of the machine-building plants applied for permission to work as a private taxi driver. So what could be the problem? Pay for a license, and transport passengers. But the adjuster in the past year had been placed on parole for private activity as a taxi driver--at a time when activity of this kind was forbidden. He now wanted to take it up honestly in accordance with the law. A majority voted to permit him to purchase a license.

Now, a little about the conduct of the meeting. Certain members of the commission gave the impression of behaving overly cautiously. The desire of two housewives, for example, to engage in in-house catering gave rise to disagreement. The female representative of the city SES began by declaring that permission would not be given to one of them to prepare a dish of the Armenian national cuisine. Her reasons? They had nothing to do with the terms of sale, the monitoring, or sanitary hygiene.

"You have no grounds for prohibiting these women from preparing dishes in home surroundings," replied commission chairman Yu. M. Luzhkov to the SES representative. "You have only the duty of setting specific conditions, and they have the duty of complying with them."

To sit for more than four hours at a meeting is not the most pleasant of activities. Yet there was no exhaustion or dissatisfaction visible among commission members or others who were present. Of course, questions were being discussed to which no one could remain indifferent, so complex and at times contradictory were the problems that arose before the commission meeting (the cases mentioned, of course, were not all that were discussed) involved with ITD. And how many unanticipated factors lie in wait for us along the path that for the present is still new. The problems may be disposed of in many ways, but there is only one line of direction--the continuing development of individual labor activity.

One thing more. At the meeting informational materials were distributed concerning both individual operators and cooperators. Dozens of groups that are cooperating in providing domestic services to the public, producing consumer goods, collecting and reprocessing scrap materials, and public catering have already been registered. But who knows anything about them? To dispose of goods and sell services, publicity is needed. The time has come to think about it.

## REGIONAL ISSUES

### MOSCOW INDUSTRY'S SWITCH TO MULTI-SHIFT SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jun 87 pp 1,3

[Unattributed article: "Switch to the Multi-shift System"]

[Text] As of the beginning of July, 652 industrial enterprises in the capital will be working in two or three shifts. At the same time, many organizations in the non-industrial sector are converting to the multi-shift system.

In the course of the next year, the shift index for basic technological equipment will rise to 1.65—including progressive equipment which will reach 2.2.

More than 29,000 pieces of obsolete equipment will be taken out of operation, making available more than 300,000 square meters of industrial space, the construction of which would require about 90 million rubles in capital investments. This in turn will permit the development of resources to accelerate the reequipping of enterprises and to provide for the improvement of industrial working conditions and the solution of other social problems through the use of 75,000 square meters of space that was previously taken up by machinery.

By the end of the year, a total of 33 percent of the industrial workers in Moscow will be working in two or three shifts.

Right at the start, in July, the number of enterprises working on the two- or three-shift system will increase by as much as one-fourth.

In prospect for the period of the five-year plan, through the socialist obligations of the workers of Moscow, is a rise in the shift index to 1.7—including that of progressive equipment to 2.2. And the most important step in crossing this threshold is about to be taken right now.

Why has the conversion of industrial enterprises to the multi-shift system acquired such crucial significance in our time? The CPSU Central Committee,

the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU, in the decree entitled "On the Conversion of Associations, Enterprises and Organizations of Industry and Other Branches of the National Economy to the Multi-Shift Work System for the Purpose of Increasing Efficiency," took note of the fact that compliance with the directives of the 27th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of January (1987) for exploiting the potential of developed industry, speeding scientific and technical progress, and raising economic efficiency is inseparably bound up with the conversion of associations, enterprises and organizations of industry, construction, transport, the agro-industrial complex, and other branches of the multi-shift system. It is emphasized in the decree that "Carrying out this task constitutes an integral part of restructuring the national economy and converting it to intensive development."

The experience of leading enterprises convincingly demonstrates that the conversion of equipment to the two- and three-shift system makes it possible within a short time to raise production efficiency, while simultaneously opening up possibilities for improving the social and personal living conditions of workers. In what way are the results of the multi-shift system to be achieved? The logic is simple.

The same amount of production can be turned out by three workers on three machines in one shift or by three workers on one machine which is operated in shifts. Clearly, that is more advantageous; for it requires fewer machines. It affords greater possibilities for the qualitative improvement of the equipment in stock and for the renewal, mechanization and automatization of production processes. The greater the productivity of machines and equipment, and the more advanced and valuable they become, the more advantageous it is to make sure that they have a full work load.

It is necessary to achieve a situation where equipment becomes physically worn out before it becomes obsolete. This is the real way to accelerate scientific and technical progress. Moreover, in such a case, technology enters into the refining process that will pay for itself many times over and fully fulfill its potential. To part with such scrap is no tragedy.

More than 29,000 units of obsolete basic technological equipment will be eliminated in Moscow because of the conversion to the multi-shift system; of these, approximately 16,000 machines and machine-tools are being written off in the first six months of the year.

By getting rid of equipment that has become expendable under the multi-shift system, enterprises make available industrial space that can be used for the further development of production through the establishment of mechanized and automated facilities, organizing the output of consumer services, developing social amenities, and improving working conditions. As a result a genuine possibility arises of refraining from introducing supplementary industrial space and thereby saving capital investments, material resources, and the capacities of the contract organizations.

More than 800 million rubles' worth of uninstalled equipment has been accumulated in Moscow; there is no place to repair it. The multi-shift system provides space for this purpose without big capital outlays.

The fulfillment by the city's workers of their socialist obligations in 1987 to increase the equipment shift index will free up for other purposes more than 300,000 square meters, thereby diminishing by the same amount the need for industrial construction. By comparison, the Machine-Tool Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze occupies 60,000 square meters of industrial space. The funds and resources of the major contract organizations can be switched from industrial structures to social and recreational facilities. The average cost of constructing industrial space in Moscow comes to 300 rubles, and for housing 240-250 rubles, per square meter.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU have established by decree a procedure whereby ministries and departments, together with the Council of Ministers in the union republics, upon the conversion of the associations, enterprises and organizations to the multi-shift system, are to leave at their disposal the resources freed up which are above those provided for capital investment, contract operations, and material resources in the 12th Five-Year Plan. These funds and resources are to be used to construct housing and other projects for social purposes as well as for the technical reequipping and reconstruction of existing production processes; the renovation of workplaces with the use of the latest high-efficiency equipment; and also for transfer to the ispolkoms of the local soviets of peoples' deputies to participate in measures to improve consumer services.

What sort of conclusion can be drawn from this effort? One wants to resolve the problems of housing and other social problems more quickly and effectively in one's own collective, to rehabilitate the workshops and the enterprises, to beautify one's rayon and city--to introduce more vigorously and without delay the multi-shift system!

There is a concept of capital productivity, the output-capital ratio, which tells us how much output can be obtained from available fixed assets--that is, plant buildings and equipment installed in them. Of course, all of this was built not because of a surplus of resources but so that the country, and each one of its citizens, should gain in wealth.

In Moscow the negative factors associated with a decline in the output-capital ratio may be clearly discerned. The potential generated is immense, but it has not been used to full capacity. A certain machine, let us say, costs 10,000 rubles more; it manufactures products worth another hundred rubles, and more. That is, in the course of one shift. And what about two or three shifts? Clearly, the gap delines. The turnover of invested fixed assets becomes more rapid; there is additional profit for the enterprise and remuneration for the worker. The conversion is particularly important under conditions where a plant is financing and paying for itself. The switch to the multi-shift system makes it possible to bring the decline in capital productivity to a halt.

In the 1960's, for example, a carburetor plant operated with a minimum of two shifts. Later, in the 1970's, new equipment arrived, but they did not discard the old. Slowly but surely they slipped back into operating with only one shift. There were more machines than operators. The equipment for the most part lay idle. Now the enterprise is in the ZIL Association, and like all of the automobile industry it has been converted to cost accounting, paying its way, and self-financing. It must pay for losses and mismanagement itself. The plant has now resolutely rid itself of duplicate machinery and obsolete equipment. Only the multi-shift system and only the cutback of the equipment inventory provides for a high-profit operation!

The multi-shift system, however, is not an end in itself. Its ultimate end is to improve the efficiency of production, to speed technical progress, and to resolve more successfully social problems. In this end, it must be supposed, every resident of Moscow is interested. The expediency of converting to two and three shifts is to be judged from the standpoint of public demand.

Wherever automatic machines do the work, where flexible assembly lines without the help of man readjust themselves as programmed, where robots monitor machines, the need for people to fill two or three shifts is reduced to a minimum. A single shift is sufficient--for procurement operations and equipment maintenance. But for the present such production lines in our city can be counted, as they say, on the fingers. The organizing of people in shifts is therefore a necessity to raise the workload of our equipment.

As of the beginning of July, 43,000 additional workers will start operating in two or three shifts. For 190,000 workers of Moscow, this schedule has long been in effect.

Metallurgical and chemical aggregates, power projects and some other units now operate uninterruptedly in round-the-clock operations. Enterprises of light industry and the food industry traditionally operate under multi-shift conditions. Primarily of concern at the present time with respect to two- and three-shifts are the organizations in the areas of machine-building and mettle-working.

It goes without saying that the evening and night shifts are more difficult since they entail additional psychological stress and disrupt the rhythm of normal existence. Bonuses are therefore to be provided for workers and office personnel engaged in multi-shift operations. Supplemental pay has been set up to be added to the basic wage or position salary, amounting to 20 percent for a second shift and 40 percent for a third shift; leave time is to be extended; year-end work bonuses to be increased; and other measures will be taken for moral and material incentives.

In preparation for the mass conversion to the new system of work the city has taken care to develop the necessary conveniences for second and third shifts. The children of workers and office personnel converting to the multi-shift system are in priority order to be accepted unconditionally in kindergartens, and groups of children are to be scheduled for an extended period in the school day. Changes in the timetables of other institutions for children, particularly the study groups and clubs, will be made with due regard for the needs of the workers.

One hundred and thirty grocery stores have made the switch from 7 to 23 hours of operation. Nineteen consumer-goods stores will be open from now on on Sundays.

In addition, 133 public catering enterprises are scheduled to work in an evening shift and 73 for a night shift. The two- or three-shift system is being set up in workshops for the manufacture of semi-finished goods and culinary ware. The number of places to gather in dining halls and at soft-drink counters is being increased from 16,000 to 40,100.

All central libraries, and all clubs as well, are to be open on Saturdays and Sundays, and their operating schedule is to be extended on workdays.

The duration and hours of work of the domestic services--laundry, dry cleaning, and handicraft work--will be adapted to the multi-shift system; receiving points will be arranged at 236 enterprises, and will show up at 76 more by the end of the year.

Effective on 1 July, polyclinics, dispensaries, consultative-diagnostic centers will be open on workdays up to 23 hours. Their work-time on Saturdays and Sundays is to be increased. One out of every four public health centers available in the city will make the transition to a three-shift schedule. The work schedules of other medical institutions will be improved.

Effective 1 July, 178 bus lines, 39 trolley lines, and 57 tram lines will on a regular basis be at the service of multi-shift workers. According to enterprise announcements, 13 additional bus stops will be established and 4 main lines will be extended. Changes will be made in the timetables of 32 suburban electric trains.

The campaign that is being carried out is of immense proportions. Its economic and social significance cannot be overestimated. This is well understood by far-sighted economic leaders and party and professional activists.

In the Machine-Building Association imeni V. V. Chernyshev, thanks to the multi-shift system and the efficient utilization of equipment, 2,000 square meters of space is being made available exclusively for the betterment of industrial life that were previously taken up by machinery.

The more intensive use of progressive equipment at the Manometr Instrument-Making Plant promises an increase in production of products, the manufacture of which under the previous shift system would have required the acquisition of equipment costing more than a million rubles. Even at such a relatively small enterprise, approximately 900 square meters of space was made available for social purposes.

A valuable initiative was demonstrated by the machine-builders of the Krasnyy Proletariy Plant, imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze, Stankokonstruktsiya, and Stankonormal plants in organizing a cooperative system of auxiliary production that will enable them to write off some of the little-used machinery.

The conversion to up-to-date, high-productivity equipment constitutes a crucial step for the workers of Moscow in fulfilling their socialist obligations for 1987 and the five-year plan as a whole.

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## REGIONAL ISSUES

### BUREAU MEMBERS CRITICIZED AT MOSCOW GORKOM PLENUM

PM051851 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jun 87 Second Edition p 3

[Report by Yu. Kazmin: "The Higher the Position the Greater the Demands. Two Bureau Members Reported at the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum"]

[Text] Moscow--This time the agenda of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum was fundamentally different. It somehow reflected the extensive and intensive work of restructuring by the capital's Communists and the higher stage of the development of intraparty democracy. For the first time two members of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau reported to the plenum--I. D. Pisarev, party gorkom secretary responsible for construction industry matters, and V. P. Shcherbakov, chairman of the Moscow City Trade Union Council.

#### A Lesson in Democracy

The preparation for this plenum was also unusual. In the course of preparations, members of the Moscow party gorkom met with numerous labor collectives, had conversations at industrial enterprises and construction sites, checked on the spot the practical implementation of party leadership of economic construction and trade union activity, and studied questions concerning the conditions of working people's labor, daily life, and leisure. It is understandable that, following such a serious analysis of the state of affairs, they brought to the plenum their observations, ideas, and proposals. And it can be said that they were well informed when they listened to the reports.

At the very start of his report, I. D. Pisarev said that the 26th city party conference laid down a broad program for renewal in all sectors of the capital's economy having, in the proper party fashion, made a strict and frank assessment of the prevailing situation, the negative processes, and the obvious failures. He recalled that the conference noted the problems that had accumulated in capital construction and the shortcomings in the party leadership of this sector. He said that personal criticism had also been leveled against the gorkom secretary.

The tasks set by the conference as regards boosting the capacities of construction organizations, reducing the time taken on construction and the share of manual labor, and stabilizing labor collectives made it necessary to

exactly and self-critically analyze the work done and the causes of mistakes and to identify the political leader's position in restructuring.

What was I. D. Pisarev's personal contribution to the implementation of such important tasks? His report failed to give the plenum participants a complete answer to this question, and there was much in it that was unsatisfactory. The report resembled that of an economic rather than a political leader. It is not easy to abandon the accumulation of old traditions and habits, of pomposity and verbosity.

Muscovites' opinions must be the main criterion when assessing the construction industry. The capital's residents are justified in complaining about construction industry workers. For a long time now Muscovites have been dissatisfied with the quality of their work. Many projects have been under construction for a long time, resulting in deficiencies and additional costs. The idea of fewer people producing more output has not spread widely on construction sites. People there do not effect the proper savings of metals, other materials, energy resources, and primarily working time. Instances of drunkenness have not been eliminated. New residential districts are not being built in a comprehensive fashion, and lagging is especially noticeable in the building of children's institutions, schools, health centers and hospitals, trade and public catering premises, sports complexes, and children's pools.

What is impeding restructuring in the construction industry? What is Comrade Pisarev's personal contribution to this, what is his style of work? Those who spoke at the plenum asked these questions, and offered answers. Matters are primarily obstructed by the obsolete, unwieldy, and, one could say, uncoordinated structure of Moscow's entire vast construction complex. There has been talk on this most acute problem for a long time now. But... only talk. The city acutely feels the lack of a unified construction policy, no firm long-term policy has been established, there is no system in work with cadres, and their economic training is insufficiently well organized.

The plenum suggested to the speaker that lack of coordination and the desire to investigate all secondary details be eliminated. After all, this results in overlooking fundamental and strategic issues. As a rule, the gorkom secretary's answer to similar remarks on previous occasions had been that "he is a professional." Yes, the speakers said, being a construction industry professional is just the base, but you are primarily a political worker.

The plenum noted that decisions on overcoming negative trends in shaping Moscow's architectural image are still being fulfilled in an unsatisfactory fashion. Attempts are made to demolish the country's monuments. The Main Architectural and Planning Administration still remains the weak link in this chain of serious urban development problems.

A. S. Sukhanov, leader of a tunnelers' team from the Moscow Subway Construction Administration; N. Ye. Kislova, first secretary of the Sverdlovskiy CPSU Raykom; and others noted with justification and sadness that Muscovites are now lagging in a whole number of spheres where in the past they

set an example to the entire country. The effect of sectorial science on construction sites is inadequate. There is insufficiently active study and application of advanced Soviet and foreign experience there. The party gorkom secretary does not maintain strong enough ties with raykoms and with grass root and middle-level construction industry links.

In view of all this, the plenum participants drew the conclusion that, over a 3-year period, the gorkom secretary failed to define the strategic orientation of his work, did not create a proper pool of cadres, and did not help organize the efficient training of cadres. It was also noted that Pisarev lacks the party leader's important quality of self-criticism.

### "Waltzing" with Economic Managers

That was the figurative expression used at the plenum to describe the stance of a large proportion of the capital's trade union leaders in the collectives and their "principledness" in defending working people's interests. A sharp assessment, maybe, but accurate and fair nevertheless. The role of an appendage of the administration diminishes the prestige of trade union organizations within labor collectives and prevents them from being active and militant links in restructuring and in boosting production standards and labor productivity, from boldly and uncompromisingly upholding the workers' interests, from being pioneers in innovation, valuable initiatives, and lively and attractive socialist competition in honor of October's 70th anniversary.

The assessment of the work of the city's trade unions made at the 26th city party conference was sharply negative. The situation has changed somewhat in the last 18 months. Positive changes have occurred in the trade unions' activity. These changes have occurred largely thanks to the restructuring of the city trade union council and the replacement of the leadership.

It was not easy for Communist Shcherbakov to master his new public duties on the move, so to speak. He was previously known to Muscovites as a major economic leader and a skilled and intelligent production worker.

But, due to shortage of experience coupled with ardor, the new trade union leader wants to accomplish much by himself, without mobilizing the broad aktiv for the solution of set tasks.

What is needed is a clear-cut program for the dissemination of the best production experience to each enterprise and labor collective in the capital. The city's trade unions still do not participate enough in preparations for transition to two- and three-shift work system. Social and consumer service problems and questions of sanitation and hygiene are still being solved only slowly at plants and factories. In many cases there is a lack of clarity as regards medical and transportation services, the organization of catering, and the work of preschool institutions. This is where specific organizational work by trade unions is needed--this was said by V. N. Volodina, finisher at the Beskudnikovskiy No 1 Construction Materials and Components Combine; N. S. Chikirev, general director of the "Stankostroitelnyy Zavod Imeni Sergo

Ordzhonikidze" Production Associations; and others. Quite often, the opinion of the economic leader rather than that of the labor collective is decisive in cadres selection. There are instances of lack of principledness in the allocation of housing.

Many speakers at the plenum expressed the wish that Shcherbakov would more quickly abandon the command style of leadership and his sharpness and hot temper, would more quickly master the political methods of work, and would adopt a more demanding attitude toward himself and toward others.

What was the final assessment by participants in the plenum of this principled investigation of the activity of bureau members?

"While I was listening to the reports by Comrades Pisarev and Shcherbakov," I. N. Konyukhova, first secretary of the Zheleznodorozhnyy party raykom, said, "I felt as if I myself were standing at the rostrum. There is much to be learned from this lesson in party democracy."

"I would describe today's plenum as an objective example of restructuring in party work," I. L. Paristyy, chief of the Moscow Railroad, said.

B. N. Yeltsin,, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the party gorkom, delivered the closing speech at the plenum.

"This is our first experience in this, and it has been rather difficult for us all, especially those who delivered the reports. The bureau members, and I as first secretary, realize that we too are to blame in many respects for the existing shortcomings which were pointed out to I. D. Pisarev and V. P. Shcherbakov today, and for those that were not pointed out. Both they and we have to draw conclusions.

"I hope," B. N. Yeltsin concluded his idea, "that I am expressing the common opinion of plenum participants if I give Ilya Dmitriyevich and Vladimir Pavlovich the following advice: Accept this complex conversation correctly, in the spirit of party comradeship, without taking offense, without stress or ambition. Charged with businesslike energy, channel all efforts toward eliminating shortcomings in the sectors for which you are responsible and in the style of your work. I am confident that the gorkom plenum will be useful also to the entire city organization as a fillip in boosting the responsibility of Moscow's communists in the struggle for renewal in all spheres of the city's life."

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OFFICIALS REPRIMANDED FOR ENVIRONMENTAL VIOLATIONS

PMO51111 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 May 87 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has examined the question "On Working People's Letters Connected With the Ecological Situation in the Lake Ladoga Basin."

The CPSU Central Committee points out that the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production, the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, other ministries and departments, and also the RSFSR Council of Ministers show a lack of discipline in fulfilling the USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 7 December 1984 and the earlier resolutions on protecting the environment of the Lake Ladoga and Baltic basins. Enterprises and organizations located within the basins are not allocated the necessary volumes of capital investments, material and technical resources, or contract work quotas for the construction of nature conservation projects, as a result of which many enterprises, cities, and population centers do not have installations for the purification of industrial and domestic household effluent.

Leningrad and Novgorod Oblispolkoms, the Karelian ASSR Council of Ministers, and enterprises' economic leaders permit unjustified red tape and tardiness in resolving questions of nature conservation, fail to ensure proper monitoring of the work of existing purification installations, are bad at enhancing their operating efficiency and manning them with operating personnel, fail to stop the wasteful consumption of fresh water, and do not organize the introduction of waste-free manufacturing processes and closed water supply systems.

The RSFSR State Agroindustrial Committee has failed to fulfill in full the target for the construction of warehouses to store mineral fertilizers and toxic chemicals, as well as manure stores and purification installations, as a consequence of which there has been an increase in the flow of phosphorus and nitrogen compounds into bodies of water.

For many years construction organizations of the Ministry of Construction have failed to fulfill construction and installation work plans for the creation of purification installations in northern and western regions of the USSR, and individual projects have turned into long-term projects taking 7-12 years to construct. Despite the acuteness of the question, the ministry's leaders have still not taken measures to accelerate their construction.

An extremely unfavorable ecological and sanitary situation has been created through the fault of the leadership of the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry in the city of Priozersk, Leningrad Oblast, where for several decades the pulp plant discharged industrial effluent into the Ladoga without purification and posed a real threat to the supply of drinking water to the city of Leningrad and population centers on the shore of Lake Ladoga. The plant has now been stopped, and tremendous material harm has been caused to the national economy.

The USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control take a passive and conciliatory stand with regard to violators of nature conservation legislation.

The USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology have inadmissibly delayed carrying out scientific research work and elaborating a scientifically substantiated regime for the use of the Lake Ladoga basin's natural resources. The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Limnology in Leningrad has been working fruitlessly in this direction for 30 years.

The party Central Committee regards the irresponsible and scornful attitude of leaders of all ranks toward environmental conservation as a major social and economic error in their work and requires ministries, departments, enterprises, organizations, and local soviets to elaborate measures and take decisive and effective steps to improve the condition of the Lake Ladoga basin. The lag that has occurred in construction must be made good, and there must be a fundamental improvement in the operation of the nature conservation projects provided for in the USSR Council of Ministers resolutions "On Measures to Increase the Baltic Basin's Protection Against Pollution" of 16 July 1976 and "On Additional Measures to Ensure the Protection and Rational Utilization of the Water and Other Natural Resources of the Lake Ladoga, Onega, and Ilmen Basin" of 7 December 1984.

The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Science, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR Ministry of Health, the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, the USSR State Committee for Forestry, and the RSFSR Council of Ministers are entrusted with accelerating work on the in-depth study of the Lake Ladoga basin's ecosystem, preparing a scientifically substantiated forecast of the state of the natural environment in that region with regard to the economy's further development,

and determining additional measures to protect the lake basin against pollution in the long term.

The USSR Gosplan and the USSR Gosstroy must examine within a month the measures of ministries and departments to stop pollution of the Lake Ladoga basin by subordinate industrial, agricultural, and other enterprises, prescribe reduced times for implementing them, and submit those measures for approval to the USSR Council of Ministers.

Comrade M. I. Busygin, member of the CPSU and USSR minister of the timber, pulp and paper, and wood processing industry, is reprimanded for failing to take timely measures to stop pollution of Lake Ladoga by industrial effluent from the Priozersk Pulp Plant, which resulted in that enterprise's production activity being halted and considerable harm being caused to the national economy.

The attention of CPSU members Comrade S. V. Kolpakov, USSR minister of ferrous metallurgy, Comrade V. A. Durasov, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy, Comrade V. A. Bykov, USSR minister of the medical and microbiological industry, Comrade N. M. Olshanskiy, USSR minister for mineral fertilizer production, and Comrade A. I. Mayorets, USSR minister of power and electrification, is drawn to the inadmissibility of violating construction times for nature conservation projects at subordinate enterprises and poor monitoring of the operation of existing purification installations, and they are warned of their personal responsibility for the unconditional fulfillment of environmental conservation measures.

Comrade Yu. G. Losev, member of the CPSU and first deputy minister of construction in northern and western areas of the USSR, is reprimanded for unsatisfactory organization of construction of water conservation projects at the Okulovka and Syasskiy Pulp and Paper Combines, the Priozersk Pulp Plant, the Pikalevo Alumina Production Association, the branch of the lifting and transport equipment plant in the city of Lodeynoye Pole, and other enterprises.

Comrade N. I. Popov, member of the CPSU and chairman of Leningrad Oblispolkom, is reprimanded for failing to ensure the timely implementation of measures to protect the natural environment of the Lake Ladoga basin on the territory of Leningrad Oblast.

Comrade L. B. Yerminev, member of the CPSU and first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, is cautioned for the unsatisfactory fulfillment of targets for the construction of nature conservation projects in cities and population centers and at enterprises of the agroindustrial complex located in the Lake Ladoga basin and for pollution of the body of water by agricultural production waste.

Note is taken of the fact that the RSFSR Council of Ministers has punished the leaders of Leningrad, Novgorod, Vologda, and Pskov Oblispolkoms and of the Karelian ASSR Council of Ministers, as well as the RSFSR ministers of the

forestry industry, the river fleet, housing and municipal services, the fuel industry, and the RSFSR State Agroindustrial Committee, for their irresponsible attitude to fulfillment of the government resolution.

With regard to the exceptional importance of Lake Ladoga as the chief source of the drinking and industrial water supply to the city of Leningrad, as well as to population centers in Leningrad Oblast and the Karelian ASSR, the Priozersk Pulp Plant is to be reprofiled to produce output whose production will not lead to pollution of the environment, and this work is to be completed in 1988. In order to meet the national economy's needs for viscose cellulose, the proposal of the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry to construct and commission in 1990 a cooking shop to produce 200,000 tonnes of commercial viscose cellulose a year at the Bratsk Timber Industry Complex is to be adopted.

In connection with the substantial lag in providing the national economy and the population with timber and paper products and the small volumes of deliveries of them to the foreign market the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, with the participation of interested ministries and departments, are entrusted with preparing within 6 months and submitting to the USSR Council of Ministers a draft CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On the Main Directions of a Comprehensive Program for Expanding Production and Exports of Timber and Paper Products in 1990-1995 and in the Long Term Through the Year 2000."

The Leningrad, Karelian, and Novgorod CPSU Obkoms and the party committees of the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, the Ministry of Construction in Northern and Western Areas of the USSR, the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, and the RSFSR State Agroindustrial Committee are entrusted with examining the question of the personal responsibility of specific workers who are to blame for the failure to fulfill the targets set in USSR Council of Ministers resolutions for protecting the environment of the Lake Ladoga and Baltic basins.

The Leningrad, Karelian, and Novgorod CPSU Obkoms, the Karelian ASSR Council of Ministers, and Leningrad and Novgorod Oblispolkoms must intensify work on implementing environmental protection measures and step up monitoring of the fulfillment by enterprises and organizations of targets for constructing, enlarging, and modernizing nature conservation projects and monitoring of the improvement in the work of existing purification installations.

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CRITICISM OF LENINGRAD FLOOD DEFENSES REBUTTED

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[Article by S. Davydov: "Who Finds the Building of the Dike Disadvantageous. New Twist in the Discussion of Leningrad's Flood Defense Complex"]

[Text] The current flows prevailing in Neva Bay prior to the start of building Leningrad's flood defense complex have been restored. Construction workers speeded up their work at the deepest section of the 25-km long installation and unblocked the sluice gates. More intensive flushing operations began along the northern coast zones, Leningraders' favorite leisure spots. A TASS correspondent reports specially for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA that the recommendations by scientists, who insisted on ecologically flexible construction methods, have been adopted.

These positive facts were cited at a recent meeting between the city's scientific community and the creators of Leningrad's flood defense complex. In actual fact, the meeting's chairman O. Skarlato, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Scientific Council for Environmental Protection Problems under the USSR Academy of Sciences Leningrad Interdepartmental Coordination Council, placed emphasis on something else: The ecological situation in the Neva River basin remains tense, but the defense complex under construction is only indirectly responsible for this....

"Insufficiently considered decision," "Irresponsible project," "Threat to Leningrad," "Where is the protection from the dike?"--these claims by opponents of the complex fueled the discussion of a project which affects the interests of millions of people. Due credit must be given to those involved in its implementation: For months on end they were learning to operate under conditions of increased openness and democracy, in other words abandoned their inability and unwillingness to take public opinion into account and respond to it. They convinced people that they were right, and also admitted and corrected mistakes. The project, having undergone 12 years of the most rigorous and expert scientific study, was once again in need of well-argued defense, and it got it. The results of past and supplementary studies were brought to the notice of the city's inhabitants with the help of newspapers, radio, and television. Even though, of course, by no means all were successfully persuaded and convinced.

The main argument in the dispute centered, of course, around the complex itself. Even while still incomplete during last year's flood, it took the main brunt of the elements and "cut down" by 40 centimeters the potential water level in the city. Bearing in mind that the damage caused by floods, running into millions of rubles, is directly related to water levels, it would probably have been possible to calculate even the economic effect. But the arguments persisted.

It was claimed, for example, that the protection complex was altogether unnecessary for the city primarily because of... "the need of floods." It was said that floods help to clean the water area. This resulted in the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control Hydrology Institute especially conducting additional studies during the December floods last year. A comparison of the data produced then against data from observations during a 10-year period failed to reveal any improvement of water quality following the floods. But the pollution resulting from various deposits washed off the banks was obvious.

The new counterargument ran as follows: "Even with the existence of sluice gates, the 11 rock-and-earth dikes will create vast zones of stagnant water." Obvious arguments were cited in response: Data from mathematical and hydrological model-building carried out by staffers from the B. Ye. Vedeneyev All-Union Hydroengineering Scientific Research Institute, and from natural studies. They prove something else: By opening and shutting the gates of the complex, it is possible to create strong artificial currents within the Neva River Bay.

A rumor had spread that the famous Neva smelt had simply failed to find a way through the complex and the dike's foundations had a 1-meter deep layer of fish. Ichthyologists were invited to the construction site. Accompanied by divers, they inspected the sea bed and did not find a single dead fish anywhere.

Time passed, and new rumors sprang up: As soon as the smelt sees the dike it... leaps out on the banks. The evidence was there to be seen: Many people had even gathered half-dead fish on the northern bank! A formal investigation had to be conducted before it was revealed that two long boats, belonging to the fishing kolkhoz and loaded to the brim, had been beached by high winds as a result of engine failure.

Openness and availability of information helped to persuade many people. The speech by writer A. Liverovskiy, until quite recently one of the most active opponents of the complex, at the last meeting is particularly remarkable in this context:

"The rumors which are constantly disturbing Leningrad--that the dike will turn the water area around the city into a stinking swamp--are, to say the least, unfounded. The complex as such plays quite a small role in the total ecological cycle being, so to say, the last link. And it is altogether in no position to affect that which perturbs us most of all--the question of water

purity near Leningrad. The most important point of all revolves around the volume of effluent purification and its thoroughness. The question today concerns the state of Lake Ladoga, the Neva River, and its entire basin, and not the dike."

The present twist in the discussion around the Leningrad flood defense complex offers plenty of food for thought. Including the question whether clearly dishonest arguments were used in this heated dispute. Did they, who must now be taken strictly to account for the state of waters near Leningrad, not channel public dissatisfaction in a direction suitable for them--against the dike?

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